

English as a Lingua Franca in Intercultural Relationships

Interaction, Identity, and Multilingual Practices of ELF Couples

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*Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by due permission of the Faculty of
Arts at the University of Helsinki, in the reception hall, University of Helsinki
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For those who love in another language

Abstract

This compilation dissertation investigates English as a lingua franca (ELF) in intercultural love relationships, where the partners come from different linguacultural backgrounds and use English as their common contact language in their private communication. The study attempts to unveil how these couples succeed in lingua franca communication so well that they have managed to build and maintain a lasting intimate relationship: What do their interactions reveal about their pragmatic strategies concerning multilingualism, understanding, and silence, and how do they themselves view their language identity as a couple?

The data examined in this dissertation consists of two parts; nine hours and nine minutes of semi-structured interviews from six ELF couples living in three European countries, and twenty-four hours and fifteen minutes of naturally occurring conversations recorded by seven ELF couples in four countries. I have adopted a conversation analytic approach throughout, although the interview data has also undergone content analysis, enabling me to explore the couples' reported views on their linguistic practices and language identity.

The results concerning ELF couples' multilingual practices indicate that these couples utilise their multilingual repertoires frequently and for a range of interactional purposes, but also for no apparent reason. This implies that translanguaging within the speakers' shared range diminishes in interactional value over time and becomes a habituated part of the "couple tongue".

The frequency of misunderstanding in ELF couple talk is generally in line with previous findings in ELF (Mauranen 2006, Kaur 2011b), but the closeness of the partners is a factor which both helps them understand each other, yet also causes misunderstandings *because* they expect to understand each other so easily. ELF couples use a vast array of understanding-enhancing practices similarly to ELF speakers in other contexts, but they also resort to extra-linguistic means such as drawing and onomatopoeia. In ELF couple discourse, achieving accurate understanding by all possible means overrides such considerations of appropriateness that drive, for example, the let-it-pass strategy (Firth 1996) identified in institutional ELF talk.

The ELF couple identity is negotiated and shaped by their shared experiences in different contexts, and over time. In this shaping process, the languages the couples use, including but not limited to English, become meaningful as the core around which the shared practice is built. ELF couples identify as English-speaking couples, but multilingualism is also present in their everyday life in their language practices within the family and with the surrounding community. The couples tackle their “interculturality” and foster their own couple culture by developing their own traditions, negotiating values and practices, and by exchanging and sharing experiences.

In their conflict interactions, ELF couples orient to noticeable silences as indicating troubles extending beyond disagreements. In addition to indicating a strong disagreement, withholding a response at a transition-relevance place is also treated as marking avoidance of self-incrimination, resisting an inappropriate change-of-footing, taking offence, or unsuccessful persuasion. Applying conversation analysis to investigating speaker turns that follow noticeable silences is found to be an effective methodology for examining local inferences of noticeable silences.

In sum, the findings imply that contextual factors such as intimacy of lingua franca speakers and the long history that they share together affects their pragmatic strategies; e.g., speakers in family contexts translanguage more freely and use more varied pre-emptive practices to avoid problems of understanding than lingua franca speakers in more transient contexts. Also, ELF partners identify as English speakers in their own right, and their naturally occurring talk is found to be valid for conversation analytic inquiry of interaction proper – not only for studies in second language. This dissertation attempts to stimulate mutual understanding between lingua franca research, multilingualism, and conversation analysis.

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Abbreviations

ACE	The Asian Corpus of English
CA	conversation analysis
CASE	The Corpus of Academic Spoken English
Dut	Dutch
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ELFA	The Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings
EU	European Union
Fin	Finnish
FPP	first pair-part
L1	first language (mother tongue)
L2	second language
L3	third (additional) language
LF	lingua franca
MU	misunderstanding
NNS	non-native speaker
Nor	Norwegian
NS	native speaker
NSE	native speaker of English
OPOL	one parent, one language
RO set	Rights and Obligations set
SLA	second-language acquisition
Spa	Spanish
TCU	turn constructional unit
UK	United Kingdom
VOICE	The Vienna-Oxford Interactional Corpus of English

Preface

As I write this, I am browsing through my calendar notes from 2013–2017. What a journey this PhD has been! I have met many interesting people along the way and learnt a lot about academia, linguistics, and myself. At times, I have felt the wind in my hair while gliding through academic endeavours with ease, feeling confident that I will win this race. Other times I have despaired, as the amount of work has piled up like a steep hill in front of me, and only the constant encouragement of my supporters has kept me pedalling on. The first year of this journey also saw an actual cycling accident that took me to the hospital and still affects my health. It goes without saying that I would never have reached this goal without the support of so many who believed in me and the research I took on myself.

My interest in ELF couples arose during my Master's studies when I realised that the rather common use of English as a lingua franca in intimate relationships had remained virtually untouched by sociolinguistic research. This made no sense to me given the originality of ELF research on so many accounts. The current dissertation attempts to give a voice to ELF couples and explore their language use and interactions objectively. As a result, I also hope to offer my small contribution to the paradigms of ELF, multilingualism, and conversation analysis. I would not have been able to do this without the couples who so candidly and courageously opened their homes and lives for me and provided the project with invaluable data. So many thanks to them.

The research project would quickly have withered away had I not received the Young Researcher's Grant from the University of Helsinki Research Foundation and thereafter a salaried PhD candidacy in the Doctoral Programme for Language Studies at the University of Helsinki that allowed me to work on this project full-time. My academic network would also be substantially smaller without the travel grants I received from the university's Chancellor and the Doctoral School in Humanities and Social Sciences, the Department of Modern Languages, as well as the Eemil Aaltonen Foundation.

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Bergen) that I attended in 2016. I learned a lot from you. Prof. Anne Kari Bjørge has been my local supporter in Bergen, for which I am very thankful. I also wish to thank Prof. Jennifer Jenkins for her advice early in my PhD studies.

During these years, I have participated in several conferences where I have met amazing people who will undoubtedly remain in my life no matter what happens next. There is not enough space to thank everyone, so I will only mention Prof. Stefan Diemer and Marie-Louise Brünner; Dr Marine Riou; Veronika Thir, and especially my Cosmo ELF girls Dr Roxani Faltzi and (soon-to-be Dr) Miya Komori-Glatz, – thank you for your encouragement, help, and friendship throughout these years.

I am lucky to have wonderful friends around the world who have helped me maintain my sanity and restored my energy through hearty laughs and deep conversations. I hope you know how much I love you, even though we meet so infrequently. Special thanks go to Julija Jemeljanova for our inspiring, never-ending discussions about languages and cultures; to Liz Sherman, Kara Becker, Kevin Hannah and Simon Taylor for proofreading some of my texts; and to Tuukka Ilmakari for designing the layout of this book and occasionally letting me borrow his apartment.

My father, Dr Kimmo Pietikäinen once told me to write about things that I know because they are not as obvious to others as they are to me. I have tried to keep this advice in mind while writing this dissertation. Thank you for these words, and for the pride I see in your eyes when you look at me. My mother Soili Stormi and her partner Pekka Hynynen deserve my deepest gratitude for their eternal patience, generosity, hospitality, support, love, and for always taking me to the airport/train station.

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Kaisa Pietikäinen

1 Introduction

Globalisation, mass migration, new technologies, and the ease of travel have brought people from different backgrounds closer to each other than ever before. These developments set new communicative challenges to individuals and societies, but at the same time, they introduce novel learning opportunities for cross-cultural and interlinguistic communication. These kinds of interactions typically occur in a common contact language, a lingua franca, that more and more frequently is English (see e.g., Crystal 2003). English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) is a relatively recently emerged research field in applied linguistics, but it has grown tremendously during the last decade or two. Yet, much of the empirical research efforts in ELF concentrate on professional or institutional contexts such as universities, international businesses, immigration and tourism, despite the fact that ELF is also used as a contact language in close social relationships worldwide.

This dissertation turns to those who are living examples of successful lingua franca communication in their private lives, namely couples who have been able to form and maintain a long-lasting, intimate relationship using non-native English. Such couples' natural interactions provide an extraordinary view into the types of pragmatic strategies that develop in lingua franca contexts in close contact and over time – those that in more transient contexts may never surface. Furthermore, contrary to many other settings where the role of ELF is that it “get[s] the job done” (Björkman 2009: 225; see also Seidlhofer 2009, House 2003), in the family context ELF also becomes a natural part of the linguistic identity of the couple, as will be disclosed in ELF couples' interviews in this dissertation. Another aspect that this type of inquiry offers to the field of ELF is a contribution to the on-going discussion over to what extent ELF is a multilingual practice (see e.g., Jenkins 2015), especially from the perspective of translanguaging (García 2009, García and Li 2014, Creese and Blackledge 2010; see also Swain 2006, Jørgensen 2008, Jørgensen and Møller 2014 on 'languaging'), as in these relationships, the partners are generally well aware of

the extent to which they share linguistic resources, unlike speakers in temporary ELF encounters.

In this dissertation, I seek to answer how intercultural couples succeed in communicating in lingua franca English so that they are able to maintain a lasting, close relationship with one another. I use conversation analytic and context analytic methods in examining ELF couples' interactions and interviews, and attempt to uncover how they establish and build their relationship using the languages that are available to them, how they use these languages in their day-to-day interactions, how they tackle problems of understanding, and how they equip silence to convey meaning during conflict interactions. At the same time, I attempt to arouse discussion across the fields of lingua franca research, multilingualism, and conversation analysis.

1.1 Research questions

The dissertation comprises four individual research articles that each handle a specific aspect of interest. The matters addressed in each article have been derived from one overall research question:

How do intercultural spouses who speak to each other in lingua franca English manage to communicate so successfully that maintaining a long-term, intimate relationship becomes feasible?

This overall research question sprouted several sub-inquiries that scrutinise the phenomenon of (English as a) lingua franca couples from different perspectives:

- **The multilingualism perspective (Article I)**

The first article (Pietikäinen 2014) aims to answer the above research question from the perspective of multilingual practices within ELF. It attempts to explore code-switching in ELF couples' talk particularly from the viewpoint of "automatic code-switching" (Pietikäinen 2012). It sheds light onto how ELF couples' linguistic repertoires influence the frequency and ways in which features from other languages are adopted into and become a part of the ELF "couple tongue".

- **The (mis)understanding perspective (Article II)**

The second article (Pietikäinen 2016) is twofold: First, it explores the extent and causes of misunderstandings in naturally occurring ELF couple

talk. Then, it examines the strategies which ELF couples use to pre-empt miscommunication and to achieve mutual understanding, and compares these to explicitness strategies identified in other ELF contexts.

- **The perspective of language identity (Article III)**

This handbook chapter (Pietikäinen 2017) discusses the findings of the two earlier papers in light of interrelated findings within social ELF, connecting them to relevant bilingualism theories. It then brings forth ELF couples' own views and thoughts, and attempts to describe the different dimensions of their linguacultural couple identities. It seeks to answer how ELF couples experience their multilingual lives and the fact that they use primarily a second language (L2) in their shared communication. The meanings given to the couple tongue are also explored, as well as intercultural factors that influence the couples' lives.

- **The 'silence in conflict' perspective (Article IV)**

The last article (Pietikäinen forthcoming) takes a conversation analytic perspective in investigating what "noticeable silences" (i.e., withholdings of responses that occur in transition relevant places) communicate in intercultural couples' conflicts, as can be gathered from the ways in which the participants themselves orient to these silences in the subsequent turns of talk.

1.2 The structure of the dissertation

The structure of the dissertation is as follows: In Chapter 2, I briefly introduce the paradigm of English as a lingua franca, its conceptual developments concerning language identity, and the current discussion of ELF as a multilingual practice which relates to the theory on (trans)languaging. Chapter 2 also addresses the much-debated issue of native speakers in ELF data, introduces ELF couples as research subjects, and justifies the exclusion of native speakers of English (NSEs) from this dissertation. It also provides the results of a short survey that reveals the prevalence of ELF couples within multilingual families. Chapter 3 presents the data collected for this project and Chapter 4 describes the methodologies used, focussing specifically on the notion of "unmotivated looking" of conversation analysis, which has guided this research project

throughout. Chapter 5 provides all four research articles in the format that they were published or submitted for publication in peer-reviewed publications.

As is always the case when one begins with a broader perspective and gradually moves toward a detailed description of a phenomenon, one notices that a theory that is generally accepted may not suit the new findings one makes, that one's earlier theorisations may require some adjustment, or that the methodology framework that one has attempted to follow rigorously requires fine-tuning when it is set against the data type which one has collected. Such adjustments have also been made in the process of writing this dissertation, and important insights have been gained along the way. In the discussion section (Chapter 6), I will focus particularly on the two main themes that arose from the topics of this dissertation, but which have not been adequately addressed in the four research articles. These include:

- The theory development of “automatic code-switching” (introduced in Article I) and its relationship to certain prominent theories on bilingualism and code-switching. This discussion will contribute to the research paradigm of ELF by adding a contextual viewpoint to the conceptual debate over to what extent ELF should be viewed as a multilingual practice.
- The complicated relationship between (E)LF and conversation analysis (henceforth CA) and how lingua franca research could function as a platform for developing the CA theory in the future.

In Chapter 6, I also provide some new evidence that emerged in the analysis of the second data set, critically discuss the conclusions of each article, and connect them to the relevant theories and current discussions addressed in Chapter 2. Chapter 7 concludes the discussion, addresses some limitations of the studies in this dissertation and provides suggestions for further research.

2 Background

This section outlines the evolution of conceptualisations of ELF that this dissertation addresses, highlights the need for further conceptualisations for specific ELF contexts, and presents ELF couples as worthwhile research objects in sociolinguistic inquiry.

2.1 A short introduction to ELF

English as a lingua franca (ELF) arose from the paradigms of second language acquisition (SLA), English as a foreign language (EFL) and World Englishes, as researchers began to shift away from idealising the native speaker and changing their perspective toward viewing lingua franca speakers as fully-fledged language users, not “learners” or incompetent “foreign-language speakers”. This represented a crucial paradigm shift; ELF was now considered a socially constructed practice related to function rather than to form (see e.g., Seidlhofer 2011). Early discoveries included pragmatic characterisations of the ‘let-it-pass’¹ and ‘make-it-normal’ strategies (Firth 1996),² misunderstandings (House 1999), and cultural emblems (Meierkord 2002), as well as Jenkins’s description of common phonological features of ELF (i.e., “the Lingua Franca Core”, Jenkins 2000). Since then, empirical research on natural ELF data has expanded enormously, as researchers have begun to explore ELF in different contexts such as business (e.g., Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005, Ehrenreich 2010), academia (e.g., Smit 2010, Mauranten 2012, Hynninen 2013), and refugee encounters (e.g., Guido 2008, 2012), to name a few, as well as in different national contexts around the world (e.g., Kirkpatrick 2010 in ASEAN; Murata 2015 in Japan; Gimenez et al. 2017 in Brazil). Several ELF corpora have been, or are currently collected, e.g., in spoken academic ELF (ELFA 2008; CASE forthcoming), written academic ELF (WrELFA 2015), spoken ELF in European (VOICE 2013) and in

¹ See Article I: 18.

² Schegloff argues, however, that these practices are not exclusive to non-native/non-native or native/non-native talk and that e.g., grammatical corrections are not very common in native/native talk either (see Wong and Olsner 2000).

Asian contexts (ACE 2014). Over the recent years and currently, a further shift in the field can be seen toward theoretical broadening and explorations of cross-fertilisation with e.g., theories of multilingualism (Cogo 2012; Jenkins 2015; Article III, this dissertation; Hynninen et al. 2017), complexity theory (Baird et al. 2014; Larsen-Freeman 2016, Vetchinnikova 2017), and language variation and change (Filppula et al. 2017).³

2.2 ELF and language identity

In early conceptualisations, ELF researchers regarded ELF as being culturally neutral (e.g. Meierkord 2002); a versatile tool for communication in intercultural contexts, but certainly not a language for identification (House 1999, 2003). For example, House (2003: 560) claimed that:

Because ELF is not a national language, but a mere tool bereft of collective cultural capital, it is a language usable neither for identity marking, nor for positive ('integrative') disposition toward an L2 group, nor for a desire to become similar to valued members of this L2 group – simply because there is no definable group of ELF speakers.

Furthermore, she described the linguistic situation developing in Europe as twofold: “various ‘pockets of expertise’ and non-private communication on the one hand, and national and local varieties for affective, identificatory purposes on the other hand” (2003: 561) and argued that for this reason, ELF was not a threat for multilingualism, as only “mother tongues, regional, local, intimate varieties” (p. 562) constituted languages of identification. This rather ethnolinguistically biased view⁴ was first questioned in Jenkins (2007), where ELF was studied as a part of non-native English teachers’ professional identity. Later other studies followed where ELF speakers’ locally constructed identities were scrutinised (e.g., Baker 2011, 2015; Gu et al. 2014, Sung 2014, 2015). These studies commonly considered ELF identities to be hybrid, multiple, and negotiated on-line.

As has been demonstrated by other researchers (e.g., Kalocsai 2013, Klötzl 2015) and will be shown in this dissertation, in private contexts, ELF does have affective, “identificatory” purposes alongside national languages, but this is

³ See Jenkins et al. (2017) for the latest compilation of conceptualisations in ELF.

⁴ See Pavlenko and Blackledge’s (2004) criticism toward language as a marker of ethnic identity and a review of other approaches to the study of identities in multilingual contexts.

also not a threat to multilingualism on the level of the individual or the social group. Furthermore, although the mass of ELF speakers may be too abstract to identify with on the whole, in social and professional contexts ELF speakers do form definable micro-groups and communities of practice (see e.g., Ehrenreich 2017 on ELF communities of practice) where memberships are realised in ELF, and where ELF also becomes one of the important languages of group identification.

2.3 Translanguaging and ELF as a multilingual practice

Translanguaging (García and Li Wei 2014; see also García 2009, Creese and Blackledge 2010) is a theory of bilingualism⁵ that has recently gained popularity in bi-/multilingual studies as well as within ELF. The theory assumes that speakers' linguistic systems are not organised according to different languages in the bilingual brain but instead, bilingualism is seen as a dynamic process where the retrieval of features from a *single system* incorporating the whole of the speaker's linguistic repertoire is regulated strategically by activation and inhibition mechanisms (as suggested by Bialystok et al. 2004; García and Li Wei 2014: 22). García and Li Wei (2014) follow Grosjean (1982, 2004) in arguing that a bilingual individual does not have two monolingual personalities between which s/he juggles, but they take this thinking a notch further: The authors argue that all features, be they linguistic or multimodal, are a part of one constantly activated repertoire, and it is in fact social forces that sometimes compel bilingual speakers to use one language at a time only (García and Li Wei 2014: 15).⁶ In this dissertation, I have adopted this perspective because I also believe that language boundaries are constituted by social practices and learning. The "drops and splashes" (Article I: 21)⁷ of language-mixing that occur in the family environment emerge because language boundaries are not solid, because speakers do not constantly monitor their speech in the home environment, and

⁵ García and Li Wei do not differentiate between *bi-*, *pluri-* or *multilingual*, although their theory relies mostly on (teaching) situations where two recognisable languages are at play.

⁶ See also Jørgensen (2008) and Jørgensen and Møller (2014) who refer to the practice of "language users employ[ing] whatever linguistic features are at their disposal with the intention of achieving their communicative aims" as *linguaging* (2008: 169).

⁷ The page numbers referred to in the research articles are the original page numbers of the published or submitted articles, not the pages they appear on in this dissertation.

because in order to achieve their communicative goals with their partners, ELF couples can use whichever features from their (assumed) shared repertoire, be they identifiable as belonging to whichever socially defined category of “a language”. As will be shown in Article I and in Section 6.1, in the domestic ELF context, the regulation of translanguaging may actually be less strategic than the translanguaging theory assumes. Speakers may not even always be aware of which (socially) recognisable language the features they produce belong to.⁸

A current debate related to translanguaging in the conceptualisation of ELF is the question of whether or not, or to what extent ELF is a multilingual practice. On the basis of ELF speakers being multilingual, Jenkins (2015) argues that “ELF *is* a multilingual practice” (ibid: 63, italics in the original) and should therefore be examined from that foundation on. However, looking at linguistic evidence only, ELF is called **English** as a lingua franca because the matrix language in this contact language is recognisably English. The fact that ELF speakers are commonly bi-/multilingual (an issue I discuss below) does not make the *practice* itself multilingual – just as speakers’ ability to interact in different languages according to the discourse context does not necessarily make their first languages multilingual⁹ – unless of course they are in a context where they can let loose the whole trajectory of their available linguistic resources. The couples examined in this dissertation have opted for English as their intimate contact language simply because for most of them, English was the only or most fluent language – or set of features – that the partners shared at the beginning of their relationship. Yet even they cannot translanguage completely freely because they seldom share all the same language resources. It is also worth noting that the possibility of translanguaging (or languaging) in ELF couple contexts only arises over time through learning – that is, when a partner learns features from another language system (e.g., partner’s native language or another lingua franca). Furthermore, as will be noted in Article III, these couples identified

⁸ Even if individual multi-/plurilingual speakers may not always recognise which language the features they are using belong to, it can still be argued that on the societal level, these language categories exist, and that it is therefore justified for researchers to use these categories in their analyses. After all, if linguists were not able to make a distinction between “languages” as categories, they would be unable to analyse the subtle social meanings sometimes conveyed by translanguaging, let alone understand the message the speaker attempts to convey.

⁹ Otherwise all languages can be seen as multilingual practices – which in a historical sense they of course are, but this circular thinking does not provide anything new to the discussion.

themselves first and foremost as English-speaking couples even though they admitted to mixing as well. They were also factually found to speak a language that could be identified as English – most of the time. For them, using a lingua franca or translanguaging are not mutually exclusive practices, which is why they are not considered so in this dissertation either.

2.4 Who qualify as ELF speakers?

Early conceptualisations viewed ELF as, e.g., “a ‘contact language’ between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen *foreign* language of communication” (Firth 1996: 240, italics in the original), and as only occurring in “interactions between members of two or more different linguacultures in English, for none of whom English is the mother tongue” (House 1999: 74). These definitions clearly excluded native English speakers from ELF, whereas later in later definitions this distinction is not made. For example, Mauranen’s (2005: 269) definition, “a contact language between people who do not share a native language” stresses the emergent nature of ELF in language contact, while Seidlhofer’s characterisation of ELF emphasises its nature as a communication language that even NSEs have to acquire:

[lingua franca is] an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages, or a language by means of which the members of different speech communities can communicate with each other but which is not the native language of either – a language which has no native speakers. (Seidlhofer 2001: 146)

All of these definitions still leave space for interpretation, especially if we attempt to step away from the traditional monolingual world-view and take into consideration that at least half of the world’s population are bi- or multilingual (Grosjean 2010, see also Romaine 1989), and for many, defining one “mother tongue”, “first” or “native language” may be very difficult. As an example, consider a conversation in English between two partners who are both from India, but where one’s first language (L1) is Hindi and the other one’s is Tamil.¹⁰ Both have had their schooling in English and speak it very fluently. According to

¹⁰ A couple like this volunteered to my study and recorded a few conversations, but were omitted from the analysis for reasons mentioned in Section 3.3.

Firth's definition, a conversation in English between these two would not count as a lingua franca interaction because the speakers share a common national culture (albeit they may have very different local cultures), and English is not a foreign language for the speakers, but rather a second language (L2). But is English still their L2 if it is the most fluent language they speak, or if they have stopped speaking Hindi or Tamil? And what if an ELF couple decides to bring up their child in English, while the parents' own L1s are something else?¹¹ Is the child then a native English speaker (NSE), and can the parent-child interactions then be considered ELF communication according to any of the aforementioned conceptualisations? I will not dwell on this issue any further, but my point here is that any boundaries between speaker definitions are as fuzzy as are the boundaries between different languages: to a degree they are created for political reasons, not because of genuine differences in their characteristics or uses. For this reason, conceptualising what kinds of speaker constellations can be viewed as ELF interactions is a very complex issue.

Most of today's lingua franca researchers would likely agree that even if native speakers were present, any natural interactions between intercultural speakers from different language backgrounds would be valid for lingua franca research. In fact, all three major spoken ELF corpora, that is, ELFA – The Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA 2008), VOICE – The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE 2013), and ACE – The Asian Corpus of English (ACE 2014), include NSEs. However, as for example Kalocsai (2009) and Ehrenreich (2010) report, ELF speakers may find it difficult to understand NSEs because some of them do not accommodate their practices to match those of the other speakers like other ELF speakers often do; common problems may also be e.g., NSEs' fast speech rate and complex terminology and/or phraseology.¹² Another difficulty in native–non-native speaker (NS–NNS) discussion might actually be NNSs' own insecurity when NSs are around. Kurhila (2006) found that NNSs often self-repaired their ungrammaticalities in native–non-native Finnish speakers' conversations despite the fact that the NSs did not

¹¹ This is a hypothetical situation theorised for example in Mauranen (2017) – most ELF couples I know bring up their children using the parents' L1s and possibly the surrounding community language. See also Soler and Zabrodskaja (2017) on ELF couples' family language practices.

¹² Of course, NSs' terminology and phraseology may not always be more complex than NNSs'.

orient to these. On the contrary, NSs signalled understanding despite the NNSs' hesitation.¹³ Whatever the reality between NNSs and NSs, the fact that NNSs may *feel* that some NSs use their language competence to gain the upper hand (as reported in e.g., Ehrenreich 2010; Kankaanranta and Planken 2010) can have consequences to the pragmatics of their conversation. Speaker insecurity may for instance surface as displays of uncertainty concerning some grammatical aspects or pleas for help in word searches (Kurhila 2006). Therefore, it may be wise to consider whether NSs should be included in one's LF data, or whether such data should be explored as a type of its own. When it comes to ELF couples, this issue is further discussed in Section 2.6, but I will first introduce existing research on ELF in intercultural relationships.

2.5 Research on ELF in the family context

Research on ELF couples and ELF in social contexts is still scarce but gradually growing. When I started my research on ELF couples, only Julia Gundacker (2010) had examined ELF couples in an interview study in which she investigated five Austrian/international couples' motivations, advantages and disadvantages of choosing ELF as the couple tongue. She found that ELF is chosen as the couple tongue because it is a neutral, fair choice, and the partners are commonly proficient English speakers, so it is also an easy choice. However, she points out that some ELF partners feel disadvantaged in detailed or emotional expression in English, and that its use delays the learning of the partner's L1. My Master's thesis (Pietikäinen 2012) was the first conversation analytic inquiry into ELF couples' interactions and found that ELF couples used code-switching for language demonstration, replacing or clarifying unfamiliar words or untranslatable (culture-related) words/phrases, addressing, message emphasis, but also automatically, without notable awareness of switching (see Article I).

Since then, Svitlana Klötzl (2014, 2015) has also picked up the topic of ELF couples in her research in which she combines her personal perceptions with interviews, questionnaires, and discourse analytic insights from five ELF

¹³ Mauranen (2006) shows similar findings in ELF data in terms of overt signalling of comprehension, but she does not explicitly link this behaviour to the presence of NSEs.

couples' communication. Klötzl argues that ELF couples' communication should be regarded as a dynamic process in which the partners negotiate their relationship between the two forces of territoriality and cooperativeness, and in this process they establish their own private code (Klötzl 2015). Liudmyla Beraud (2016), on the other hand, interviewed five Norwegian-Ukrainian couples residing in Norway concerning their language choice, switching practices and language identity, and found that her participants started with English because it was "their best common language". It also creates a private space for the couple "in the ocean of Norwegian" (the community language; Beraud 2016). Beraud's participants viewed code-switching as an important communicative resource.

Josep Soler and Anastassia Zabrodskaia interview three "transnational multilingual families" (Soler and Zabrodskaia 2017: 547), Latin-American/Estonian couples who according to my definition are ELF couples, as they have established their relationship in English and have kept it as their main couple tongue. The authors investigate these couples' reported linguistic practices and identify frequent switching practices that resemble those that I report in Article III. However, the study is novel in that it also addresses the practices the parents use with their children. Interestingly, these parents are very conscious of using and trying to reinforce the OPOL (one parent, one language; Döpke 1992) strategy, but they also mix languages because ultimately, the children seem to demand this at times. Although all of the above-mentioned ELF couple studies exclude NSEs, a paper given on "trans-national multilingual families" at the ELF9 conference (Soler-Carbonell and Roberts 2016) also includes NSEs. I will next broaden the focus to other intercultural couples and explain why I decided to exclude NSEs from my data.

2.6 Intercultural, bilingual, or ELF couples?

Although I acknowledge NSEs as ELF speakers when they are interacting with speakers from differing linguacultural backgrounds, I decided not to include NSEs or (reported) L2 speakers of English in my research. This decision was fuelled by the fact that most sociolinguistic studies on intercultural couples already focus on couples where one partner is a NS of the principal language of

the relationship, and my later discoveries also supported my initial hunch that there are differences between the ways in which these couples' view the use of multilingual resources in their interactions (see Article I: 5).

Much of the research that studies intercultural couples from different linguistic, cultural, social, ethnic, or religious backgrounds commonly focuses on "mixed marriages" (e.g., the contributions within Breger and Hill 1998 and Johnson and Warren 1994), where the married partners are of a different ethnic background, but not necessarily speakers of different first languages. Another vein of research focuses on describing cross-cultural relationships in particular countries, concentrating on couples where one of the spouses is a foreign citizen (Lainiala and Säävälä 2012; Ndure 1991). Bilingual couples; couples who speak either or both partners' L1s are the primary sources in research on intercultural relationships within studies of language and culture (e.g., De Klerk 2001; Piller 2000, 2001, 2002). Any comparisons between bilingual and lingua franca couples could therefore only be attainable with unmixed ELF data (i.e., without NSs).

As already mentioned above, the presence of native speakers has an effect on the communication practices of lingua franca speakers, and intercultural couples seem to be no exception. The NS partners of the chosen couple tongue in bilingual couples have been found to assume linguistic authority in the household (Piller 2002, Kouritzin 2000), and this may become a burden for both partners, as described by Kouritzin. In Articles I and III, I discuss the observation that ELF couples regard their language practices as more equal than bilingual couples, as neither partner has a full-fledged authority over the English language. However, section 6.1.1 shows that in ELF couples, too, the native speaker is the uncontested language authority of their own L1, even if her/his partner frequently uses features belonging to this language system.

2.7 How common are ELF couples?

Contrary to common beliefs, English used as the lingua franca of love is not at all uncommon, but an estimation of the actual number of ELF couples is hard to achieve, as statistics of the languages used in marriages and long-term relationships are commonly not collected. The European Commission has

released a report according to which since 1987, a million babies have been born to couples who met during their Erasmus exchange (European Commission 2014). Of these babies' parents alone, a majority has likely at least begun their relationship in English, as it is the most common second/foreign language that Europeans speak (European Commission 2012: 19). In order to arrive at a better understanding of the language practices of couples in multilingual families and the ratio of ELF couples within them, in September 2016 I posted a short survey in a Facebook group called "Raising Bilingual/Multilingual Children". The group hosts over 27.000 members globally and describes its purpose as follows: "If you are raising a polyglot, then you have come to the right place" (Facebook 2016). The group members could choose from seven options to describe their language practices as a couple (see Table 1 below). The respondents were also able to add an option of their own, which, in hindsight, made it slightly difficult to interpret the answers. I also received comments from the group members whereby many of them were struggling to identify themselves among the options because they mixed languages according to contexts, despite the fact that I had attempted to clarify this with the instruction: "Which of these options best describes your current language practices with your spouse?" and after the first hours also added: "If you use several languages, choose the one that you use THE MOST when you're alone with your partner." The difficulty for these partners to choose the language that they mostly use illustrates that translanguaging may well be the preferred "language of choice" for these multilingual speakers or that they may not be actively aware of their language choices in their everyday life – or both.

After a week, 755 group members had answered the survey. As can be observed in Table 1 (next page), some of the options added by the respondents were overlapping the original categories or slightly unclear as to which language the couple mostly used. However, when it comes to English-speaking couples, two groups dominate the results: those where one partner is a native English speaker, and those where neither is a native English speaker, in other words, ELF couples. Furthermore, if we look at the first category added by the participants themselves, "Speak a mix of one partner's native language and English depending on the situation and need for clarity. Both are fluent in English" (Table 1:

category h), it is evident from the wording that neither of the partners is a NSE. The 36 respondents who have chosen this category mix English and another language, which is why I am inclined to include them in the wider category of ELF.

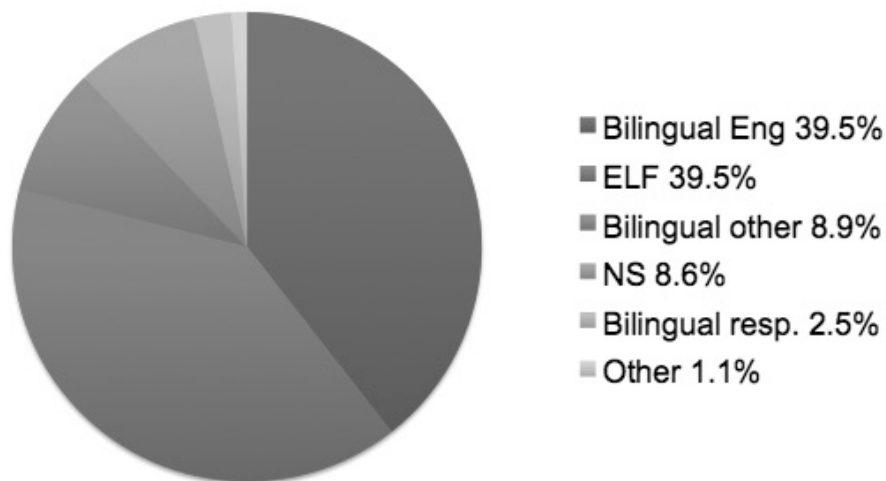
Table 1: Facebook survey results

Original categories: My partner and I ...		n	%	Description
a	... speak English to each other. One of us is a native English speaker.	298	39.5	Bilingual Eng
b	... speak English to each other. Neither of us is a native English speaker.	263	34.8	LF Eng
c	... are both native speakers of the language we speak to each other.	61	8.1	NS
d	... speak one partner's native language together. Neither of us is a native speaker of English.	38	5.0	Bilingual other
e	... speak some other language together. One of us is a native English speaker. ¹⁵	15	2.0	Bilingual other
f	... both speak our respective languages when speaking to each other.	14	1.9	Bilingual respective
g	... speak some other language together. Neither of us is a native speaker of that language.	5	0.7	LF other
Categories added by the respondents:				
h	Speak a mix of one partner's native language and English depending on the situation and need for clarity. Both are fluent in English	35	4.6	LF Eng/mix
i	...speak one partner's native language together. One of us is a native English speaker.	14	1.9	Bilingual other
j	...both speak our respective languages when speaking to each other. Neither of us is a native English speaker.	5	0.7	Bilingual respective
k	...are bothe native speakers of the language we speak to each other. One of us is a native English speaker. We both grew up with 2 languages	4	0.5	NS
l	...speak one of one partner's native languages together. One of us has two native languages, English being one of them.	3	0.4	Bi-/trilingual
	TOTAL	755	100.1	

¹⁵ Facebook only allows certain length to poll options, which is why I had to shorten every option that said "other language than English" into "other language", which may have added some confusion among the respondents.

When combining these and other corresponding categories, the following composition of bi-/multilingual children's parents emerges:

Figure 1: Parents of bi-/multilingual children



Even though the sample unlikely represents the global distribution of the language practices of multilingual couples,¹⁶ the results of the survey indicate that ELF couples are not atypical and in fact, among English-speaking multilingual families, they appear to be as common as those bilingual couples where one partner is a NSE.

¹⁶ As for example, China has banned access to Facebook altogether, so no partners living in China could participate in the survey.

3 Data

The ELF couple data used in the dissertation were collected in two phases. The first part consists of nine hours and nine minutes of interviews that I originally collected for my Master's thesis (Pietikäinen 2012). The second part consists of 24 hours and 15 minutes of natural conversations recorded by ELF couples themselves. Before describing the data collection phases in more detail, I explain why marriage should no longer be regarded a denominator in couples chosen for qualitative study.

3.1 Should marriage be a requirement?

Geographical unions that allow citizens of different nations to travel and move to other member nations have undeniably affected to the possibility of forming an intercultural relationship. In 1998, Breger and Hill justified the exclusion of unmarried couples from their study by stating that "States do not permit the entry of foreign partners who are not formally married" (Breger and Hill 1998: x). Nowadays, this is obviously not the case for example within the European Union and the Schengen area, where partners can move freely and reside in any country, so long as they have an income or other means to support themselves. But even inside the European economic area, there are inequalities between partners who move for love: anyone moving from outside of the EU for love cannot stay in an EU country even if the couple is married, unless they have a certain income level to support them both. Partners from the Nordic countries (Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland), on the other hand, can move freely inside the Nordic region without marrying or even registering with the police. It is thus not a requirement for European intercultural couples to marry in order to stay together, whereas anyone coming to the EU from the outside must have a "valid", visa-verified reason to stay; be it studies, a job, or a marriage. For the aforementioned reasons, the couples chosen for this study were not required to be married (of course, some were). However, in order to ensure that they had a long-term, intimate relationship, only couples who

reported having been together longer than two years, and who reported living together, were chosen.

3.2 Interview data

In the first phase of data collection, I recruited six ELF couples from three countries: Finland, Norway, and the UK, through postings on different Facebook groups. Some couples were also recruited by word-of-mouth through my friends, or through the couples' friends and relatives. Only couples whose relationship had lasted over two years, who lived together, and who identified as using non-native English between them were included, even though some bilingual couples who used one partner's native language also volunteered. The interviews were conducted in the couples' homes during spring/summer 2012.

The interviews commonly began with an informal chat over coffee in the partners' living room during which I introduced my research project but avoided giving too detailed information about the aims of the research (that I was actually more interested in how the couples interacted while producing answers to my questions, rather than what they answered to my inquiries). I told them that I am in a similar relationship where both partners speak non-native English, and that I was interested in hearing their relationship stories. I also gave them consent forms (Appendix I) to sign either before or after I turned on an Olympus VN-8500PC voice recorder. The initial background information questions 1–5 (see Article I: 22) mostly received rather short answers, but at around question 6, "How did you meet?", the couples began to produce longer accounts and contemplating and co-creating their answers. As my purpose was to record the couples' interaction, I did not attempt to control their talk with my questions; I only asked them questions from my sheet when it felt convenient to the topic, in no particular order. I mostly used active listening techniques: giving the interviewees my undivided attention, attempting to create a warm, friendly atmosphere, not judging the couples' answers, and using facial expressions and gestures in showing that I was listening to them (Black and Yeschke 2014). I did not rush to fill silences or try to reformulate their answers, instead I used silent probing (nodding, smiling encouragingly, maintaining eye contact), which often resulted in the couples continuing their responses in interaction with each other,

sometimes discussing matters as if they were forgetting that I was present. Only when their answers were blunt or superficial, or if I did not understand the references they were making, did I request for a clarification. See e.g., the extract below from a Spanish-Danish couple living in the UK, Maria and Kim, where I requested for a clarification (line 06) when I did not understand the reference to “the lab”, and lines 19–21 where I prompted an expansion to the original question:¹⁷

- 01 KP: how did you meet
 02 M: hheh-h.h. (.) in the lab?
 03 K: yeah (.) [work]
 04 M: [we] (.) we arrive here the first- (.) at the same time more or less (.)
 05 four years ago and (.) yeah, in the lab.
 06 **KP**: were you like on the same course?
 07 M: °mmmm°
 08 K: we were in different labs but e:h
 09 M: we sh- we share [()]
 10 K: [we share] all of the equipment (.) so (.) we: (.) we a:re (.) yeah
 11 we talk a lot with each other so=
 12 M: =and working=
 13 K: =in the different labs (.) so:
 14 (.)
 15 M: and then of course because there is social life in: in um work and then people
 16 was going out (.) together, then we also (.) meet met
 17 K: mhm
 18 M: yeah. (.) h.h.
 19 **KP**: can you:
 20 M: £.hhh£=
 21 **KP**: =remember the first time?
 22 (.)
 23 K: y-YEAh,
 24 M: ((laughing))
 25 K: well it's a bit difficult because e: eh i don't think it happened just like in one: go
 26 M: yeah,
 27 K: [()]
 28 M: [we]actually have a problem because we don't know when=
 29 K: =yea:h=
 30 M: =the date when we £stARTED-h.[h. £]
 31 **KP**: [h.h.]
 32 K: yeah it's a bit complicated but e:h (.)
 33 M: i guess it was: e:h one night that we went out that was
 34 [(where everything clicked)]
 35 K: [Maria](.) £kept u:h inviting me (.) to different things so:£
 36 **KP**: HHh.h.[h.h. (.) .hhh]
 37 M: [(i get a lot of)]=
 38 K: =and i guess at some point [h.h.H.H.]
 39 M: [mm yeah ye]ah=

¹⁷ Note that this is a rough transcript without timed pauses.

40 K: =it paid off
 41 ((K and KP laugh))
 42 M: £and every time we met you were very very kind and very:£=
 43 K: ((laughs))=
 44 M: =£poli:te and uHu.Huh.£ (.) 's like £hmm h.H.h.£
 45 KP: ((laughs))

I kept the recorder on during the whole length of every interview, even during any interruptions caused by the couples' children needing attention, someone taking a bathroom break or leaving the room to get something from the kitchen. After I had run out of questions, I let the recorder continue recording for a while, as the conversation often continued around the themes introduced in the interview. Overall, I collected 9 hours and 9 minutes of recording data (see Article I: 12 for the length of each recording and *ibid*: 10 for the couples' background information) that was analysed in Articles I and III by using both conversation analytic and content analytic methods.

3.3 Natural conversation data

Articles II and IV analyse 24 hours 15 minutes of natural conversation data collected from seven ELF couples between March 2012 and September 2013. Two couples (Päivi and Jan; Elisa and Budi) who were interviewed also agreed to record their conversations; other couples were recruited through social media, international schools' mailing lists, and announcements on university bulletin boards, in and around international supermarkets, and in an international church (see Appendix II). I received many interested messages, but few couples actually ended up recording their conversations. After receiving emails concerning the couples' background information (gender and age, country of origin, current city, language skills, length of relationship), I tried to settle a meeting with the couples in order to lend them a voice recorder, distribute the consent form (Appendix III) and the recording instructions (Appendix IV).¹⁸ Initially, 10 couples agreed to record their interactions, but in the end only seven couples' recordings were qualified for the research. A Finnish-Nigerian couple living in Finland returned an empty recorder after a few weeks of trying because they had had an argument and subsequently, the husband refused to talk to the

¹⁸ Sanna and George recorded with their own device because they were living in Zambia when they began their recordings.

wife whenever she put the recorder on. A Venezuelan couple (L1s Spanish and Spanish/French respectively) living in the United States sent me a 30-minute recording, but they were either misinformed of the aim of the research or their identity as an English-speaking couple diverged from their actual language use, because during the recording they spoke nearly only Spanish. An Indian couple (L1s Hindi and Tamil respectively) living in Norway recorded two recordings totalling 24 minutes, but they spoke mostly (what I assume to be) Hindi, mixing some English and Norwegian in between. Furthermore, their first recording had such a loud noise of frying in the background that it was impossible to hear what they were saying. During their second recording, their child whispered “Are you recording?” several times without the parents orienting to it, which would suggest that perhaps the recording situation was not completely natural. For these reasons – regrettably – I had to leave these recordings out.

All in all, the seven ELF couples’ recordings included in the data set 2 comprise the following (see Table 2, next page). Undoubtedly, those couples whose recording times were considerably longer than others’ are better represented in the data, but the types of phenomena that were studied in the articles were present in several couples’ recordings.

Table 2: Natural conversation data¹⁹

Couple (information during recordings)	Number of recordings	Total recording time (hh:mm:ss)	Average recording length
Päivi , 52, Finnish, L1: Finnish Jan , 50, Dutch, L1 Dutch Living in Finland Relationship length: 17 years	2	00:20:09	00:10:04
Elisa , 29, Luxembourgish, L1: Luxembourgish Budi , 27, Malaysian, L1: Cantonese Living in the United Kingdom Relationship length: 4 years	4	01:30:00	00:22:30
Laura , 29, Finnish, L1: Finnish Thomas , 32, Belgian, L1: Dutch (Flemish) Living in Finland Relationship length: 10 years	19	06:23:55	00:20:13
Chun , 36, Chinese, L1: Mandarin Nils , 40, Norwegian, L1: Norwegian Living in Norway Relationship length: 12 years	12	04:52:38	00:24:23
Carmen , 24, Mexican, L1: Spanish Kjetil , 28, Norwegian, L1: Norwegian Living in Norway Relationship length: 2.5 years	7	02:41:05	00:23:01
Minna , 32, Finnish, L1: Finnish Henrik , 31, German, L1: Hungarian Living in Finland Relationship length: 2.5 years	27	06:35:16	00:14:39
Sanna , 27, Finnish, L1: Finnish George , 31, Zambian, L1: Nyanja Living in Zambia, then Finland Relationship length: 4.5 years	11	01:52:32	00:10:14

¹⁹ Throughout this dissertation, the participants' names have been changed.

4 Methodology

The methodologies I have used in this dissertation include content analysis of the interviews and conversation analysis of both the interview data and the natural discussion data. The emphasis of the analysis is on conversation analysis, which is why I will mostly focus on conversation analysis here, and describe the methodology of content analysis only briefly (in 4.1). In 4.2, I will explain the fundamentals of conversation analysis, in 4.3 I elucidate on how it has been applied in the study of ELF, and how its principles suit the analysis of this research project. I will also propose some recommendations for conversation analysts who aim to use lingua franca data in their research in section 4.4.

4.1 Content analysis

Although content analysis was used in describing the linguacultural identities as they were reported and enacted in ELF couples' interviews in Article III, my take on content analysis is informed by the sensitivity of form induced by my being a conversation analyst. Following the criticism of Pavlenko (2007) and Mann (2011) on applied linguistics relying too much on the content of interviews than the ways in which the information is elicited and co-created in interviews, I first analysed the interview data by the means of CA, and only afterwards investigated their content. For the purposes of the content analysis stage, the interview data were first transcribed roughly, after which I marked down all sections where 1) the couples were speaking about English, 2) where they were either code-switching or mentioning the use of other languages, and 3) where they were describing themselves as a couple. These sections were then transcribed word-for-word, but not as meticulously as CA requires. Notably, I was working with the recordings all the time: I constantly listened to the recordings while analysing the data, so I adopted a CA-informed approach where I did not rely on textual data only. This, in my view, helped in assessing the validity of the couples' accounts, as some opinions were stated in a humorous or

ironic tone-of-voice (e.g., Jan's account on being "equally handicapped" in Article III: 6), or co-constructed (as in the extract in Section 3.2).

I also noted emerging themes that arose in several couples' interviews such as differences between men and women, cultural differences related to food, and relationships with and attitudes of friends and family. After this phase, I collected all the extracts that concerned the following topics:

- What the couples said about English.
- Why they had chosen to use English.
- What challenges there were with this language choice.
- What advantages there were with their language choice.
- What they said about mixing languages.
- What they said about cultural differences and dealing with them.

The couples' views on these matters were then concluded by taking into consideration both differences and similarities in their accounts. A summary of these is available in Article III, although Article I also addresses some of the issues discovered in content analysis of the interviews.

4.2 Conversation analysis

In CA, explanations for particular social phenomena are sought in how speakers themselves orient to the phenomena within their interactions (Seedhouse 2004) – not how the researcher interprets them. The primary interest of CA is in uncovering underlying structures – the "social order" behind social interaction, and how interactants in various social settings achieve intersubjectivity by the means available to them. Originally, conversation analysts were social scientists who conceived of language as having merely vehicular significance in producing social order. However, they included grammar as one of the determinants of the turn-taking machinery (see Sacks et al. 1974), which subsequently inspired grammarians to study the relationship between grammar and interaction with the means of CA. Although CA initially focused mostly on monolingual American data, interactional linguistics (IL; the study of how specific languages shape interactional practices and how different languages are moulded in interaction) broadened CA's perspective toward including different languages and to making cross-linguistic comparisons (Fox et al 2013). CA is also an applicable

methodology for a range of fields that study social interaction, such as psychology, sociology, and communication studies, to name a few. It is particularly prominent in the fields of sociolinguistics, pragmatics and applied linguistics, such as in second-language acquisition, computational linguistics, and psycholinguistics.

4.2.1 The main principles of CA

The general principles of CA include the notion that interactions are structurally organised 1) in sequences concerning a topic or an action; 2) these actions are achieved with adjacency pairs (e.g., summons/questions that require particular responses), and 3) these, in turn, comprise turn constructional units (TCUs; Schegloff 2007).²⁰ TCUs are talk components such as sentences, clauses, or lexical constructions that the interlocutor can be seen as entitled to produce before another speaker takes the floor (Sacks et al. 1974; see Article IV for a more detailed account of speaker turns and their order in adjacency pairs). CA also notes that speakers tend to avoid both overlapping as well as long pauses between adjacency pairs.²¹ Typically, one speaker speaks at a time, and speaker turns alternate (Sacks et al. 1974). Every turn is shaped by the context in which it occurs, and every turn also renews the context – for example, an antagonistic answer to a question can turn a friendly conversation into a conflict, whereas if the question is asked e.g., by a reporter from a politician while he is picking up his children from kindergarten, an unfriendly answer can be expected.

Another fundamental principle of CA is that nothing in an interaction should be *a priori* dismissed as irrelevant or incidental (Seedhouse 2004). This is why CA transcriptions are infamously detailed – even pause lengths (in tenths of seconds) are measured, and prosodic and multimodal information is documented in CA transcriptions. Any preconceived assumptions concerning theoretical or contextual notions should also be dismissed. Analysts are encouraged to examine data by the means of *unmotivated looking*; by attempting to cast aside all expectations concerning the interactions or speakers, and analysing the data “with fresh eyes” (ten Have 2007: 40). Of course, in practice,

²⁰ This is a rough divide, however – it is not always so clear-cut in natural interaction. For more a detailed description of sequence organisation, see Schegloff 2007.

²¹ Interestingly, however, this tendency does not seem to be unique to humans; see Ryabov (2016) for turn-taking in dolphin interaction.

this kind of objectivity is difficult – if not impossible – to attain. I will return to this topic later in this chapter, suggest some practical advice for analysing multilingual data and discuss the ways in which *unmotivated looking* has guided my own analysis.

4.3 CA as a methodology in ELF research

Within the research paradigm of ELF, there has been a tradition of applying CA as a methodology in describing ELF, particularly concerning ELF pragmatics, although CA is also equipped for the study of e.g., membership categorisations of participants (see e.g., Antaki 2013, Day 2013) and the epistemic stances that speakers take (see e.g., Heritage 2013). The data types ELF researchers have explored by the means of CA include telephone interactions in business contexts (Firth 1990, 1996, 2009) and in academic contexts (Gramkow Andersen 2001), business interactions (Wagner and Firth 1997; Haegeman 1996, 2002; Svennevig 2011), student interactions (House 2002; Kaur 2009, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2012), voice-based chat room interactions (Jenks 2009, 2012), and ELF couple interactions (Pietikäinen 2014, 2016, forthcoming). The topics conversation analysts have explored in ELF range from (mis)understanding (Kaur 2009, 2011b, 2012; Pietikäinen 2016), self-repair (Kaur 2011a), pronunciation (Matsumoto 2011; O’Neal 2015a, 2015b), openings (Oittinen and Piirainen-Marsh (2015), overlapping (Konakahara 2013), collaboration of humour (Matsumoto 2014), multi-party interactions (Santner-Wolfartsberger 2015), code-switching (Pietikäinen 2012, 2014), and silence in conflict interactions (Pietikäinen forthcoming). In addition, several other ELF academics use CA-like methodologies in their research.

Review articles concerning (E)LF and CA, Firth (2012) and Kaur (2016), argue that CA is well suited for the study of lingua franca interactions. CA’s objective to study how speakers achieve intersubjectivity in interaction is compatible with one of the core questions in (E)LF, namely how speakers from diverse linguacultural backgrounds achieve understanding through the medium of a lingua franca. Kaur (2016: 163) argues that CA “provides ELF researchers with reliable means to identify the communication strategies and practices that speakers in ELF settings employ to arrive at shared understanding.” There are

also several other fundamental characteristics that are common to both research paradigms. For example, an aspect where CA and ELF seem to take a similar stance is what in conversation analytic theory is called recipient design, and what ELF researchers commonly describe as accommodation and/or explicitness (Kaur 2016). According to CA theory, turns in conversation are constructed with respect to their intended recipients, and speakers commonly attempt to take into consideration what the recipient knows, and to what extent they share common ground (Drew 2013: 148). ELF-speakers have been found to seek ways to accommodate to their interlocutors (Jenkins 2000, Cogo 2009) by adjusting their vocabulary, speech rate, style, and prosody, to match that of the interlocutor. They are also found to use explicitness strategies that pre-empt and overcome communicative turbulence (see e.g., Mauranen 2006; Kaur 2009, 2011; Article II), possibly because, as Mauranen (2006: 147) suggests, they assume that understanding in a lingua franca context might require more interactional work from the speakers because they lack some common (linguistic or cultural) ground. Explicitness can thus be regarded as a means of recipient design.

A major thought that guided the emergence of ELF was the insight that ELF speakers are language users in their own right; they were no longer to be regarded as deficient, inadequate, foreign-language learners in their real-life interactions outside the classroom. This was a major shift from the second-language acquisition (SLA) paradigm that focussed on “mistakes” and “anomalies” in non-native speakers’ practices, thus unfairly comparing them to those of native speakers (see Firth 2009). The conversation analytic concept of viewing interaction “from within” – not comparing it to some outside (such as native) norms, is thus particularly suitable for the study of ELF. This makes CA especially well-suited for the study of lingua francas that are defined by their functions rather than their form (Seidlhofer 2011). CA does not focus on speakers’ “mistakes” or “anomalies” – unless speakers themselves orient to these within the interaction.

4.3.1 Who is the analyst and what does it matter?

One aspect in applying CA to ELF data which may be both a disadvantage and an advantage depending on the analyst’s background, is that (at least the more

traditional vein of) CA generally recommends analysing data from similar societies and cultural groups as the analyst. Firth (2012: 2) asserts that CA's original focus on native-speaker data was likely coincidental, but that in "analyzing [lingua franca] interactions, the analyst's intuitions may be less reliable than when analyzing data involving people who may be taken to share—with the analyst—linguistic and cultural membership." As a native English speaker, it is understandable that Firth may feel disadvantaged in analysing ELF data, whereas, for example, I experienced an advantage in having lived in all three countries where the couples from my data were living²³ and that I could relate to the lives of these couples because I am in a similar relationship myself. However, ELF is by nature extremely variable²⁴ – speakers come from all over the world, they have different proficiency levels and differing abilities to accommodate to other speakers (Kaur 2016), and furthermore, the contexts of ELF vary tremendously. So, unless the data are very restricted concerning all of these factors, it is never really possible for any analyst to analyse any ELF interactions, if one is supposed to be familiar with the backgrounds of each speaker. Kaur (2016) suggests that the strict next-turn analysis of CA should provide the overarching principle for overcoming this challenge – and I agree with her to an extent – but I have also gathered a list of recommendations for analysing lingua franca data that I have learned (through trial and error) during the process of my research. I will present these next.

4.4 Using CA for analysing ELF data – practicalities

In seeking to identify the actions that speakers are accomplishing in and by their interactions, conversation analysts attempt to answer the question "why that now?" by examining participant orientation (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 299, see also Schegloff 1998). In terms of interpreting culturally sensitive aspects such as face-threatening and face-saving strategies, CA is very straightforward in directing analysts to accept data at a face value – what cannot be observed and grounded in the data, cannot be interpreted by the researcher. But with the

²³ Except Zambia, where Sanna and George recorded their first four recordings; see Table 2.

²⁴ I refuse to refer to this phenomenon with the word "superdiversity" for reasons better described by Pavlenko (in press) than I could express them.

cross-cultural, multilingual nature of ELF, a straightforward analysis may not even be possible if the analyst is struggling to understand what the speakers are actually saying. The analyst may already struggle at the transcription phase of the data analysis. Below are therefore my recommendations for transcribing and analysing ELF data.

4.4.1 Transcribing ELF data

Because the transcription conventions used in e.g., the ELFA²⁵ and the VOICE²⁶ corpora are too inaccurate for the purposes of CA,²⁷ I recommend using the Jefferson (2004) transcription conventions adapted to the needs of the researcher. Paul ten Have (2007) also provides a fairly comprehensive account of the general transcription conventions of CA. There are, however, a few points that I would like to make in reference to these.

Firstly, some analysts aim to indicate the start of a TCU with a capital letter. Because capital letters are also reserved for loud talk in CA transcriptions, I consider it problematic to capitalise turn-starts and the pronoun “I”. For example, in article II, extract 8, I have capitalised the I in line 1 because the speaker actually utters it in a louder voice than the surrounding talk:²⁸

01 K: we-p(.) a:h (.) [I] was feeling like
02 C: [a-]

Had I capitalised all I-pronouns, this subtle distinction would have been lost in transcription (pun intended). However, I have made the conscious decision to capitalise people’s names and place names for readability, although I acknowledge that this is not an entirely straightforward solution either. Consider the following example from Article IV, extract 5:

08 S: [is she:] <hot.>
09 (.)
10 S: is she like trendy or something or like that Lunga's:

Lunga is a pseudonym for a Zambian name, and as such it may not be clear to the reader that the speaker is indeed referring to a person and not for example code-switching. This is why I recommend capitalising the names of people, pets and

²⁵ See <http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/ELFA%20transcription%20guide.pdf>.

²⁶ See http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/transcription_general_information.

²⁷ Although both corpora use detailed transcriptions that are useful for other types of analyses, they lack the rigour of CA transcriptions, where e.g., prosodic marking, loudness, and mechanically measured pause lengths are also noted.

²⁸ However, I regret to say that I had not yet made this distinction in Article I.

places.

Another debatable factor in the traditional CA transcription is the portrayal of words as they are spoken. See an example from Sacks (1987: 64):

- 1 A: Ken you walk?
- 2 (0.4)
- 3 A: Ud be too hard for yuh?
- 4 B: Oh::: darling I don't know. Uh it's bleeding a little, e' jis took
- 5 the bandage off yes'day

It is justified to ask whether this kind of transcription of, for example transcribing “Ken” instead of “Can” brings any added value to the analysis – or for the readers of the paper. As ten Have (2007: 99) notes, this may in fact work better for the researcher’s own purposes, but sets an added challenge for the reader. As the English language is not spelled in a very phonetically accurate manner to begin with, this kind of gimmickry is hardly worth the effort.

In ELF data, speakers often have varied accents that may pose challenges as to how to accurately transcribe their turns. Unless it is pivotal for the sake of the research topic, I would encourage analysts to use standard orthography unless the uttered form is significantly deviant from the standard, or if the “atypical” pronunciation seems to become a source of problems in the interaction that follows (i.e., if the participants orient to it). This will pre-empt the problem of presenting the speakers in an unnecessarily weird or exotic light. Furthermore, as analysts should always work with the original data – not only with transcriptions – it is unnecessary to complicate the transcriptions for the reader if the pronunciation/accent has no added value for the analysis. Nevertheless, many accent-related “non-standard” features are such that they would not appear in the traditional CA-style transcriptions anyway (e.g., rhoticity of /r/ and the lack of consonant aspirations that are both common for Finnish speakers of ELF). On the other hand, some features that pose a risk of misinterpreting the utterance may be worth transcribing accurately – and explaining in the transcript. Below is an example of an atypical syllable deletion that does not cause any trouble between the speakers, but is substantial enough to be noticed in the transcription:

- 09 B: i'm ↑ off ma. (0.5) > i can tay (take) half day on
- 10 monday.<
- (Article II: 19)

In this transcript, the speaker uses an unusual form “tay” instead of “take”. The significance of the item is clarified in brackets.²⁹

4.4.2 Code alternation and cultural connotations in ELF data

One of the major challenges in transcribing and analysing ELF data is that speakers may use other languages alongside English, produce hybrids and cognates, and use expressions that require some cultural background knowledge before the analyst can understand their inferences. Furthermore, it is not always clear which language speakers switch into,³⁰ which may pose some challenges for interpreting the correct significance of the switched words or utterances. For example, Klimpfinger (2007: 56) interprets that a Swedish L1 speaker switches into Polish in saying *Warszawa* instead of “Warsaw”, the capital of Poland. The analyst decodes this switch as implying that the speaker wishes to reduce social distance, acknowledge a Polish interlocutor’s cultural background, or signal his own knowledge of Polish. Nevertheless, had Klimpfinger known that in Swedish, Warsaw is also *Warszawa*, her interpretation may have been entirely different.³¹

In order to avoid misinterpretations in transcribing code-switching, I developed a triple-check system. First, I tried to transcribe any code-switches phonetically as closely as possible by reducing the speed of the recording with the Play-at-speed function of Audacity 2.0.5. Then, I wrote each syllable down, and if I was able to understand the code-switched language to an extent (and with some help from Google Translate), I was often able to arrive at an estimation of what the speaker had uttered. I then extracted a short audio clip including the code-switch and some of the surrounding talk, and requested the couples to transcribe what they had said in the section. If this was not possible, I consulted a colleague or a friend who could speak the language I assumed the code-switch had occurred in, but made sure that the speakers’ identities were not compromised. I then checked the transcript syllable by syllable against the

²⁹ In Article II, I used single brackets for commentary, although the common recommendation is double brackets for commentary, single brackets for uncertain words.

³⁰ Although it is worth noting that in familiar contexts where speakers commonly know approximately the range of each other’s linguistic abilities, it may not be significant for the analysis to know exactly which language a speaker switches into when it is within the common range, see e.g., Couple F’s translanguaging into several, often ambiguous Nordic languages in Article I.

³¹ This type of guessing of speakers’ intentions is, however, outside of the scope of CA unless they are made relevant in the interaction.

audio clip and the phonetic transcription I had made earlier. If there were any deviations, I asked my informants to check them again.

Analysing items that involved cultural references was undoubtedly easier with those couples whose cultural backgrounds and circumstances were familiar to me. Having lived in Finland, Mexico, the UK, and Norway myself and being able to understand most languages the couples used was undeniably an asset. For example, when the Mexican-Norwegian couple Carmen and Kjetil were talking about *Skyss*, I knew they meant a local public transportation company, or that Carmen's mispronounced *Pier Gynt* stood for Henrik Ibsen's classic play *Peer Gynt*. When the Finnish-German/Hungarian couple Minna and Henrik were arguing about buying a bike from the "crazy days" sale, as a Finn I knew exactly which department store chain was hosting that sale. And so on. However, there were some cultural references that I could not understand, so I had to turn to the couples themselves to explain how they understood the items they used. For example, Sanna and George had lived in Zambia and used some expressions from George's L1 Nyanja. In analysing Extract 5 in Article IV, I noticed that the couple used a word that sounded like *kaponia*:

1 S: and the *kaponya*'s wife

2 G: she's young a:hh t- hh maybe she's twenty-one or something

I contacted the couple to inquire what this word meant and received the explanation that *kaponya* is a Nyanjan word that stands for "Zambian street vendors, who don't have manners, they insult and are rude" (email correspondence with the couple). In other words, this was a nickname they used for one of George's acquaintances.

As a general rule of thumb, when it comes to translanguaging and cultural connotations in ELF data, I would not rely on the analyst's assumptions on languages and cultures if the analyst is not very familiar with them, as these may easily be misguided. Instead, I would resort to the help of the subjects or fellow researchers who are more familiar with the linguacultures, but also maintain a healthy scepticism toward their interpretations. After all, in focusing on code-switches and cultural references, there is the risk of overanalysing, whereas a conversation analyst should always keep in mind that the most important factor is whether, and how, the participants themselves orient to these factors in their

interactions. If they do not dwell on the interpretation of a concept or the “correct” pronunciation of an item, neither should the researcher. Furthermore, sometimes ELF couples attach local meanings to words that may well have different meanings outside the *couple context*; see Klötzl (2015: Ch. 8.2) for several examples. An outsider may attach meanings to these words that are not there for the speakers, which is why these items should be examined as they seem to be interpreted by the speakers in the analysed interaction.

4.5 CA’s *unmotivated looking* as a starting point

The main topics in this dissertation have principally been motivated by listening to the recorded data with no previous assumptions or expectations of what may be found. I marked down several interesting phenomena during the first few rounds of listening and raw transcribing the data, and returned to these if the phenomena were repeated, until I had mapped several possible lines of study. The first, rather obvious phenomenon that I readily noticed in the interview recordings gathered in the first stage of data collection, was the recurring usage of code-switching.³² I had already discussed the triggers of code-switching in Pietikäinen (2012), and wanted to dig deeper at one of my most interesting findings: automatic code-switching. This became the overarching theme of Article I. In this article, I also contrasted the conversation analytic findings to what the couples actually said about code-switching in their interviews, as they were exposed in content analysis of sequences where other-language usage was mentioned. This allowed me to access a wider perspective on the topic – the speakers’ reported accounts as well as an outlook on how the couples actually used code-switching in their interactions within the interview.

While listening to the audio recordings collected in the second phase, I noticed that the couples did not have many remarkable communication breakdowns. This was the realisation that led me to identify misunderstandings in the data and examine the ways in which the couples pre-empted and repaired

³² In Article I, I use the term code-switching as an umbrella term to describe all kinds of uses of other languages than English in between English discussion. In Article III, I conclude that ELF couples’ mixing practices resemble the translanguaging practices of bilingual families, so translanguaging would perhaps be the best term to describe language-mixing within the family context. A further discussion on this theme will, however, be provided in Chapter 6.

communicative turbulence. The result of this scrutiny was Article II. In Article III, I discussed the findings of the two previous articles in light of other findings from ELF in social settings as well as in terms of relevant multilingualism theories. In addition, I combined membership categorisation analysis of conversation analysis (Antaki 2013) with content analysis on the interview narratives in order to study how ELF couples viewed the linguaculture(s) of their relationship and what kinds of language identities they had adopted. This methodology once again arose from the data: I realised I had given so much attention to pragmatics – *how* the speakers used language in interaction – that I had overlooked *what* the couples said about their linguacultural reality, and wanted to focus on this in the third article. Article IV, on the other hand, was based on the discovery that many of the couples had recorded dispute dialogues rather candidly. The data type of natural lingua franca conflicts is generally very difficult to obtain for research purposes, so I decided to take a closer look at these interactions and extracted the dispute sequences from the data. I soon noticed that the couples used silence as a recurrent practice in these sequences. For example, examples (5) and (7) in Article IV stood out early in the unmotivated looking stage, and helped me identify further noticeable silences in transition relevance places.

5 Articles

The articles included in this dissertation are presented next in chronological order, in the form they have been published (Articles I and II) or in the form they have been submitted to the publications (Articles III and IV). They are:

Article I

Pietikäinen, K. S. 2014. ELF couples and automatic code-switching. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 3(1): 1–26.

Article II

Pietikäinen, K. S. 2016. Misunderstandings and ensuring understanding in private ELF talk. *Applied Linguistics* (Advance Access). DOI: 10.1093/applin/amw005. 1–26.

Article III

Pietikäinen, K. S. 2017. ELF in social contexts. In: J. Jenkins, W. Baker and M. Dewey (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*. London: Routledge. 321–332.

Article IV

Pietikäinen, K. S. Forthcoming. Silence that speaks: The local inferences of withholding a response in intercultural couples' conflicts. *Journal of Pragmatics*.

6 Discussion

6.1 Translanguaging and automatic code-switching in ELF interactions

In Article I, I argue that ELF couples assume a relaxed attitude toward language-mixing where they do not attach particular significance to mixing within the partners' shared linguistic range. For this reason, mixing languages becomes such an ordinary practice that they sometimes do it automatically, without planning, and hence also without flagging these switches within the interaction. Switches like these cannot be routinely interpreted as signalling culture but must be examined in each interaction from the participants' perspective and how they orient to these switches, as shown in Article I. In Article III, I compare ELF speakers' code-switching practices to a theory developed by Peter Auer (1998) from the basis of conversation analytic inquiry. Auer argues that over time, as bilingual speakers' mixing behaviour becomes more frequent, the switches themselves will have less cultural or discourse-related value:

The more frequently code-alternation occurs, the less salient it becomes; as a consequence, the potential for using it in discourse-related ways is diminished. At the same time, the extra-conversational ('social', 'political', etc.) dimensions of code-alternation are generally lost in its individual occurrence, a process which might be compared to semantic bleaching in grammaticalisation. (1998: 20)

Indeed, this kind of "bleaching" seems to occur in ELF couples' interactions. However, it does not mean that all of their switches go through such a bleaching process, nor that none of their switches have cultural value. In fact, many of ELF couples' switches are related to a specific culture or language, and/or have discourse-related significance. I will next present examples of such translanguaging in the couples' conversational data that were identified during the transcription phase of data set 2. As will become apparent, many of the extracts also feature such switches that I refer to as automatic code-switching.

6.1.1 Translanguaging for language-learning

Those ELF partners who reside in their spouse's native country commonly attempt to learn the language of the community/the L1 of the spouse. Some partners go through extensive measures to learn each other's L1s, but naturally, the degree to which they succeed in this varies tremendously. Alternating codes

for learning/teaching purposes is actually one of the most frequent uses of code-switching in the discourse data. In these interactions, it is without exception that the partner whose L1 is being learned assumes and is granted the more knowledgeable status. See for example the extract below, where Thomas (L1 Dutch) and Laura (L1 Finnish) are both reading silently, when Thomas asks for advice from Laura:

- 01 T: is <*viileä*> (.) *wild* ([*velt*])
 cool (*Fin*) *wild* (*Dut*)
 02 L: *viileä* is cool
 03 T: a:h *ja*:
 04 L: *villi* (.) is *wild* ([*velt*])
 wild (*Fin*) *wild* (*Dut*)

In the first line, Thomas inquires whether the Finnish word *viileä* stands for *wild* (pronounced /velt/) in Dutch. Here, Thomas orients to Laura as the language authority of Finnish. This epistemic position is assumed by Laura in the next turn, where she produces an English translation for *viileä*. Thomas then acknowledges this new information, after which Laura translates the other item in Thomas's first question, *wild*, into Finnish.

This extract exemplifies a situation where the code-switches and their translations become the topic of the interaction. At first introduction (line 01), Thomas utters the word *viileä* slowly and with emphasis, therefore clearly flagging it as a topic of interest. The acknowledgement token "a:h *ja*:" that he utters in line 03, however, is not flagged in any way despite the potential switch into Dutch (cf. Article I: Extract 2). The main difference between these items is that the topical item *viileä* is flagged as requiring specific attention, and this is done by altering its prosodic features (rhythm and stress). Hence, Thomas produces this code-switch in a way that marks the switch interactionally meaningful in the interaction. However, as can be seen in the use of the Dutch word *wild* and in Laura's turn in line 04, the couple translanguage in order to arrive at an understanding of the features in question. In such learning-related interactions, also some practising of the newly-learned item and some metalinguistic commentary is common, although not observable here.

6.1.2 Exhibiting L3 knowledge³³

Related to the category above, ELF couples also frequently display their progress in learning the partner's L1 and subject their L3 production and pronunciation under the scrutiny of the partner, again portraying lesser epistemic rights to the L1 of the partner. In the extract below, Minna exhibits her (pronunciation) skills in Henrik's L1 by reciting poems in Hungarian:

- 01 M: ((recites Weöres Sándor's poem "Majomország" (Monkeyland) in Hungarian))
02 (0.9)
03 H: .hhh
04 M: tch
05 (1.3)
06 M: £#did you understand what it# was about?£
07 (1.0)
08 M: tell me:?=
09 H: =it was about (.) monkeyland.=
10 M: =m-hm?
11 ((H continues describing the poem))

In this extract, Minna tests her pronunciation by reciting a poem in Hungarian and then eliciting a translation from Henrik (lines 06–08). Here, too, it is obvious that Henrik is the authority in assessing the comprehensibility of Minna's pronunciation. Commonly, the more knowledgeable partner also assesses the "learner's" skills with direct commentary, such as "you read it really well" (not observable here). In this extract, as well as in the previous one, the sequence read in another language is deliberately positioned under scrutiny of the partner, and thus made a relevant topic of the interaction.

6.1.3 Covering for lexical gaps (word search)

Occasionally, words fail ELF couples. Retrieving the right word may require help from the partner or just some word-search by the speaker. In the next extract, Thomas fails to retrieve the word "disorders" in English:³⁴

- 01 T: psychiatrist is just a doctor who-
02 (3.6) ((eating sounds))
03 T: who knows a lot about (2.3) psychiatric (0.5) erh
04 (.) *ziektebeelden* <*mikä on* *ziektebeeld(en)*
disorders (Dut) *what is* (Fin) *disorder(s)* (Dut)
05 (1.6)

³³ For clarity, here L1 stands for the first language (mother tongue) of the speaker, L2 for English, and L3 stands for the next language to be learned, e.g., the L1 of the speaker's partner. I acknowledge that individual speakers' linguistic trajectories can be, and often are, more varied than this.

³⁴ The couple are eating, which is why there are relatively long pauses between their turns.

06 T: *illnesse-* .hhh
 07 (5.7)
 08 L: mm-
 09 (1.8) ((eating sounds))
 10 L: hm (.) hm (.) that'h the point, ((food in mouth)) . . .

In lines 03–04, Thomas hesitates and switches into his L1, Dutch, while searching for an equivalent for *ziektebeelden*, “disorders”. The switched item is flagged with a hurried plea for help in Laura’s L1 Finnish; *mikä on*, “what is”, and a repetition of the problematic item. It is unclear whether Laura is unable to offer a translation for *ziektebeelden* or if she just does not have enough time to respond to the plea before Thomas finds an alternative: “illnesses”.³⁵ Interestingly, although the searched-for word *ziektebeelden* is flagged in many different ways (hesitation, stress, plea for help, repetition) and therefore subjected under scrutiny, the plea itself is automatically (see Article I) uttered in Finnish (i.e., without flagging or marking from either interlocutor). In the interactions of this particular couple, Thomas frequently switches “what” into either Dutch (*wade*) or Finnish (*mikä/mitä*), which has likely undergone the kind of bleaching as described by Auer (1998) and is now a habitual part of their couple tongue (at least from Thomas’s part).

6.1.4 Addressing

Of the couples who recorded their interactions, three had children at the time of the data collection, and in all three families the parents seemed to practice the OPOL (one parent, one language; Döpke 1992) strategy with their children (although the children seemed to be less systematic in their language practices). There were several occasions caught on tape where the parents switched into their L1s when addressing the kids. In the next extract, Jan and Päivi are sitting by the table with their two children. The children (C1 and C2 in the transcript) have a new puppy (Nelli). Jan has been talking to the children about the dog earlier (in Dutch; the children have replied in Finnish), after which Päivi has initiated a discussion concerning some paperwork which she wants to make sure Jan does properly. In this extract, there are two parallel discourses between which Jan juggles by switching languages:

³⁵ The cut-out of the word “illnesses” in line 06 seems to be due to Thomas’s shortness of breath.

- 01 P: ↑ JUST TAKE CARE (.) that you completeeverything, (.)
02 J: yeah ye[ah]
03 P: [mo:re] dili ↓ gently because otherwise you: (.) end up
04 lo:sing everything (.) they are very:
05 (1.0)
06 J: nitpicky
07 P: < ↑ NO THEY'RE NOT nitpicky they HAVE THEIR RU:LES
08 and >you w-< THEY CAN PR- put your all you know,
09 (0.5)
10 J: m-hm-hm
11 P: so i wouldn't e::h (.) take care of it your no:rmal style
12 (2.1)
13 J: arghhh (.) (>daar gaat er weer iemand met mijn HANDSchoen vandoor<)
there goes someone again with my glove (away) (Dut)
14 (1.4) ((J exits the table))
15 C1: h.h. (.) h.h. h.=
16 ? : =hhhhh ((sigh))
17 C2: ei (.) saa koira [()
not (.) allowed dog ((don't do that, dog!)) (Fin)
18 J : ((from further away)) [Ne] (.) Nelli (molt alles weer van mij)
destroys all my things (Dut)

Around line 13 Jan notices that the dog has run off with his glove. He groans throatily and switches into Dutch in producing an exasperated description of “someone’s” (i.e., the dog’s) wrongdoings, then leaves the table. Notably, the children have not interacted with the parents during their “adult talk”, but Jan’s switch into Dutch provides a cue for them to rejoin the talk about the dog. The first child does this by laughing (line 15), while the other child joins the father in disciplining the dog (line 17). It is obvious that Jan’s switch has interactional relevance to the children, who treat it as a cue that re-engages them in the interaction.

6.1.5 Introducing a new footing

Code-switching in ELF couples' interactions is sometimes used for intensifying the speaker's meaning or to introduce a tack-change. Often such translanguaging is connected to a value judgement of some matter, person, action etc. In the following extract, Carmen switches into her L1, Spanish, in line 14:

- 01 C: ((yawns audibly))
02 K: °£h.h. h.£°
03 C: £i ha(h)-been sleepin' the whole day,£ (.) and i'm still £re(h)e(h)e:::illy sleepy.£
04 K: £n-hh£
05 (2.4) ((eating sounds))
06 C: #h[hhh#]
07 K: [it doe-] (.) hm yeah.
08 C: hm?

- 09 K: ((eating sounds)) .hhh m- that's what happens when you (0.9)
10 sleep a long time °so° (.) °()°
11 C: ((softly:)) but I like to sleep=
12 K: =yeah
13 (2.3)
14 C: ((childish voice:)) *mucho*. (0.3) *mucho mucho*
a lot a lot lot (Spa)
15 K: °hm° [£h. h.]£
16 C: [£pfhu-]huh£

In the recordings from this couple, it was common for Carmen to produce assessments in her L1, such as *muy rico* (“very good”, of chocolate), *cochino*: (“pig”, of Kjetil after he hiccups), *no me gusta* (“I don’t like it”, of her own sneezing) etc. In the extract above, she first complains laughingly that she is still tired after sleeping all day. In line 09, the interaction changes into a more serious tone when Kjetil claims that her fatigue is *caused* by her sleeping so long. Carmen uses soft voice in producing a justification (line 11) to which Kjetil latches. There is a brief pause, after which Carmen continues her previous sentence, switching into Spanish and using a childish voice (line 14). This shift introduces a change of footing back to the playful tone they had earlier. It is clear that this code-switch is not introduced by accident, and the repetition intensifies its effect.³⁶ It is not possible to say whether this is a way for Carmen to signal her “Mexicanness”, or a way for her to create intimacy between the two (as suggested by Klötzl 2015) – or both; but interactionally, it introduces a change of footing (see Auer 1998) and is therefore clearly a discourse-related code-switch.

6.1.6 Adopting culture-specific items into ELF

Some culture-related terminology that does not have an equivalent in the English language may at first appear to be cultural signalling. However, there is a key difference between whether a word has cultural relevance because of *what it represents*, or whether speakers *use it to display* cultural identity. This matter is related to the question of agency (see e.g., Duranti 2004): is intentionality taken to mean the speaker's conscious planning, or rather indexicality that is ingrained in the choice of language (see also Woolard 2004)? From a conversation analytic perspective, we cannot speculate what any speaker's intentions are, unless they are clearly exhibited within the interaction itself. I will demonstrate this

³⁶ Repetition is also a common means for hyperbolism in Mexican Spanish.

difficulty of interpreting the use of culture-bound words in natural ELF data with the following example:

01 M: £Hh .hh did you put-t(h) *hapankorppu* in the
02 microwa[ve£
03 H: [n(h)o::=
04 M: =£the toaster£
05 H: ↑ no: i did not

In this extract, Minna (Finnish) and Henrik (German; living in Finland) come home and go to the kitchen. Minna notices a piece of dry rye bread on the counter³⁷ and laughingly inquires whether Henrik has put *hapankorppu*, Finnish thin dried bread, in the microwave (repaired to mean toaster in line 04). Understanding what constitutes the laughable in this utterance requires some culturally bound knowledge: *hapankorppu* is already dried, so there is no point in toasting it, and it is normally eaten without heating. Minna's utterance thus proposes that Henrik may not have such (cultural) knowledge. Henrik is quick to deny this. The "t(h)" preceding the switched word is a snickering, but could of course be a swallowed beginning of "the", which, according to Hynninen et al. (2017) can indicate flagging of a code-switch. However, Minna repairs that she meant toaster (line 04), but notably, *hapankorppu* is not explained, clarified or contextualised in any way (unlike items in interactions where the speaker expects the partner not to know the code-switched word), and neither is its meaning lost from Henrik. It seems that *hapankorppu* is already a familiar word for them both, although the conventional method of consuming the bread may not be, as implied by Minna's first turn. It is thus not so clear-cut that using a culturally relevant item in the original language is necessarily used for the purposes of signalling culture. In this extract, the item *hapankorppu* is offered *as is*; it is not the factor that makes Minna's turn culture-related. It is the assumption that Henrik has *heated* his *hapankorppu* that has cultural relevance here. In fact, it can be questioned whether the item actually constitutes a code-switch for the couple at all.

Contrary to the above example, the following extract provides an example where a speaker also uses a code-switched item without interactionally marking it, but where the second speaker requests a repair:

³⁷ This becomes apparent in the interaction that follows.

- 01 L: have to buy *lukkosula*-hh
 lock de-icer (Fin)
 02 (0.8)
 03 T: *wade*? hhh=
 what (Dut)
 04 L: =have to buy (0.5) stuff to (.) de:-freezing stuff for the locks because the mailbox
 05 lock has been frozen . . .

In this extract, Laura (Finnish) produces a statement where the object is the Finnish word *lukkosula*, a liquid that is used for melting icy locks. Other than the fact that it is winter, there are no contextual cues available for Thomas to figure out what Laura means if he is not familiar with the Finnish word. After a short pause, Thomas initiates a repair (line 03)³⁹ using a code-switched question word, as is common for him (see 6.1.3).⁴⁰ Laura then provides a gloss for the item and a justification for the need to buy the liquid. This justification also functions as further contextualisation for the code-switched item. In sum, here we see that when an unmarked/unflagged use of a (somewhat culture-related) item which is not familiar to both speakers, it receives a repair initiation, whereas an unproblematic, automatically switched item (*wade*) does not.

6.2 Translanguaging practices in ELF according to context

By comparing the above classifications to my earlier findings concerning the stimuli for code-switching in ELF couples' interviews (Pietikäinen 2012), we can see that these classifications correlate rather accurately (see Table 3, next page).

In the family context, translanguaging is fairly common. Even longer sequences of code-alternation were observed in the data (between the partners) than have been analysed here. ELF couples utilise the whole of their linguistic range that they share with each other, sometimes even stretching the boundaries of sharedness (see the second extract in 6.1.6). In contrast, speakers who are less familiar to each other are commonly less aware of the extent to which they share their linguistic resources. This is why they need to flag their switches and thus assess the degree to which their interlocutors will understand (or accept) translanguaging within ELF.

³⁹ Thomas also seems to have hearing problems because of a flu, which may also explain why he fails to comprehend Laura's utterance.

⁴⁰ These kinds of direct clarification questions are common for ELF couples in situations where non-understanding arises (see Article II: 14).

Table 3: Interactional incentives of translanguaging in couples' ELF

Code-switching stimuli in ELF couples' interviews (Pietikäinen 2012, as described in Article I: 6–7)	Interactional purposes of translanguaging in ELF couples' discussions
Demonstrating the use of a language , i.e., giving examples of the use of other languages than English by inserting code-switched words or utterances in English talk.	Exhibiting L3 knowledge (6.1.2); also partly Translanguaging for language-learning (6.1.1)
Replacing/clarifying unfamiliarities , where the speaker switched a word or an utterance that they seemed to not know or remember in English.	Covering for lexical gaps (word search; 6.1.3)
Specifying addressees , e.g., using one's L1 when addressing children.	Addressing (6.1.4)
Emphasising the message , i.e., using code-switching for extra stress or elaboration.	Introducing a new footing (6.1.5)
Replacing nontranslatables , i.e., using a term in the original language when it was culture-bound or did not translate directly into English.	Adopting culture-specific items into ELF (6.1.6)
Automatic code-switching , where switches occurred without flagging and passed without specific attention.	Present in several of the aforementioned categories.

Hynninen et al. (2017) study such flagging in the ELFA corpus (ELFA 2008) and identify the following flagging phenomena around (including but not only) code-switching (ibid: 103–109):⁴¹

- **Explication**, such as providing a brief gloss or a paraphrase, e.g., “these *kunskapsanläggning* these knowledge complexes”, “italian *pericoloso* he said *pericoloso* it means oh danger danger”
- **Request for help**, e.g., “er what is valjaat in english”; “like er er truck drivers what is is it truck drivers i don't know *trukkikuski*”
- **Contextualisation**, such as say/call-constructions, e.g., “this people first network website *pipolfastaem* as they say in solomon islands pidgin”; “particles *jah jaa* and *jajaa* in telemark- marketing calls”

⁴¹ In these examples, underlining is showing the phenomenon in question, whereas *italics* are reserved for the code-switched item.

- **Hedging using pragmatic markers**, such as kind of/like/you know-constructions, hesitations and other mitigating devices, e.g., “so er afro-suomalaiset you know”; “you write about the er don’t know how to pronounce it but the hermeneutical *hermeneuttinen* research method”. Also the definite article **the** and demonstratives **this**, **these** and **those**, such as in “these kunskapsanläggning these knowledge complexes” above.

Although similar types of flagging of potentially problematic items are also present in the couples’ data (although not commonly related to code-switching; see Article II), unflagged code alternation is much more prominent in ELF couples’ talk than in the ELFA corpus. Interestingly, speakers in academic contexts seem to repair “slips” (or automatic code-switching, see Article I) that in ELF couples’ contexts would likely not be repaired (compare e.g. to Thomas’s switches *wade* and *mikä on* above, and Kirsi and Loftur’s response token switching in Article I: 15):

- “the reason might be we don’t know it exactly **men** the reason **but** the reason might be that in denmark” (*men* meaning “but” in Danish, the speaker’s L1)
 - “it was a good example of one organisational model of how to improve PFM **eli er in other words** participatory forest management” (*eli* meaning “in other words” in Finnish, the speaker’s L1)
- (Hynninen et al. 2017: 118)

ELF speakers in private social contexts thus seem to control their linguistic production less than speakers in academic contexts. In Article I, I refer to this practice as *linguistic relaxedness* (see also Beraud (2016) who finds similar relaxed attitudes toward language-mixing in Ukrainian-Norwegian ELF couples’ interviews).

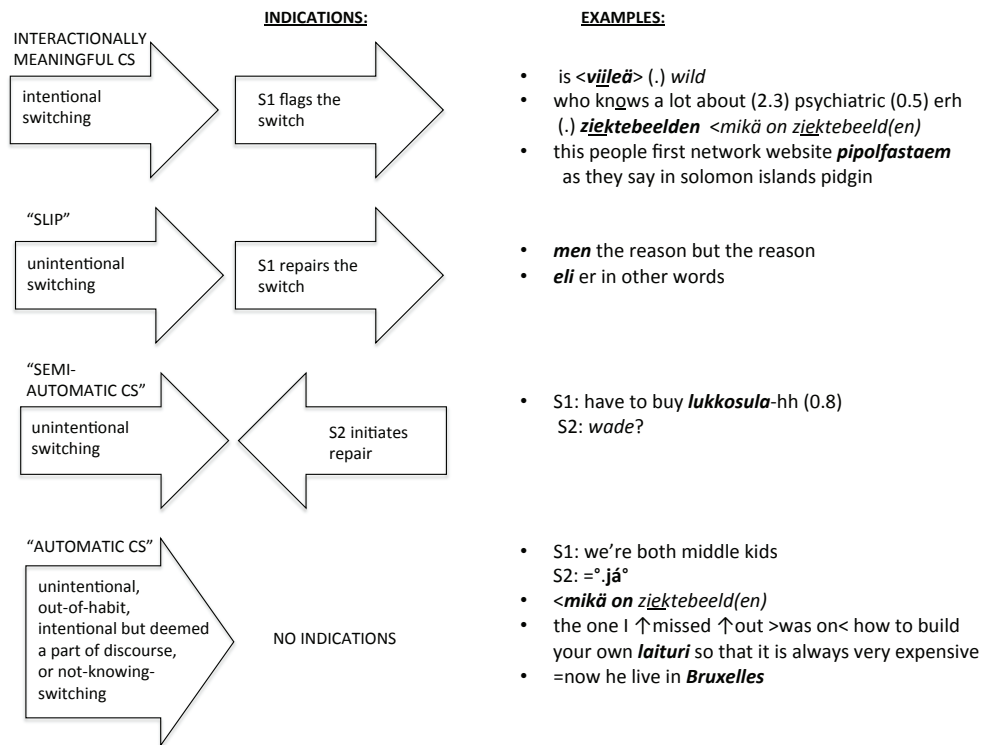
6.3 Is automatic code-switching unconscious or unmarked?

Two relevant questions that remain unanswered still, are whether automatic code-switching is unintentional, and what is the difference between automatic code-switching and *unmarked code-switching* (Myers-Scotton 1998). Unfortunately, the first question cannot be fully answered by the means of

conversation analysis alone, as we do not have access to the speakers' minds and cannot see what they plan or do not plan to do. I am afraid that even cognitive linguistics have yet to come up with a methodology that could reliably trace whether code-switched utterances are consciously crafted or whether features from other languages seep into people's talk instinctively, only to be noticed when they have already been produced (if even then). It can be said of most code-switches, however, whether they *seem* unintentional: if they are not produced by the speaker in such a way that prompts the hearer to decode a particular meaning within the switch itself, and if the hearer in fact does not seem to attach particular importance to the switch itself, they can be adequately enough interpreted as seemingly unintentional. In contrast, if the speaker prompts such inferences that suggest that the hearer should pay attention to the switch itself, e.g., by the ways suggested in Hynninen et al. (2017) or e.g., by the kind of prosodic marking exemplified in 6.1.1, it is more likely that a switch was not unintentional. Also, if a speaker does in fact switch unintentionally and then repairs his/her switch (see e.g., the *men*/but example above), the switch is oriented to by the speaker – even if it at first occurred seemingly unintentionally – and therefore cannot be viewed as fully automatic. In Article I, I propose that to be called automatic, code-switching should pass by both speakers without awakening particular attention. This is why the switching of *lukkosula* in 6.1.6 can only be considered semi-automatic: the hearer problematised it, so the switch did not go unnoticed (i.e., unoriented to) by him. In theory, automatic code-switching would not even be considered code-switching from the couples' perspective, as these items are rendered as belonging to their ELF.⁴³ Automatic code-switching is thus translanguaging that passes in the interaction without any interactional marking/flagging or orienting to the switch itself by any of the interlocutors. Figure 2 (next page) attempts to visualise the differing degrees of interactional marking (flagging) of language alternation with examples from this chapter, Article I, and Hynninen et al. (2017).

⁴³ I recognise that from the conversation analytic viewpoint, such a distinction is difficult to make as in principle, interactions should be examined in the speaker's terms. However, as analysts, we need to be able to distinguish social phenomena that we see but that may not be discussed in the same terms by the interactants (see e.g., Schegloff 1999). Therefore, I call such language alternation that is observable by the analyst but not noticeable (or perhaps noticed but not oriented to) by the participants "automatic code-switching".

Figure 2: Interactional marking of translanguaging



Now, turning to the second question; whether automatic code-switching is the same as unmarked code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1998), I will first provide a brief explanation of what the markedness model is and then review some of the criticism it has received. On this basis, I will then explain why the type of "Rights and Obligations" model presupposed by the theory is inadequate for the likes of ELF encounters where the participants' understandings of what varieties (or even items) they may use in the interaction vary greatly, and why the stimuli for lingua franca speakers' translanguaging may in fact be more prone to reside in factors such as attempting, habituation, and recency.

Myers-Scotton's (1998) markedness theory is based on an assumption that speakers have implicit knowledge of which varieties are normative (according to the "Rights and Obligations", RO sets), i.e., what can be expected in any interactional context within their community, and that these norms have been tacitly set to meet the expectations of "those persons in the community who

have sufficient power to set norms” (1998: 26–27). What is an unmarked (i.e., norm-following) variety (or language) can, according to Myers-Scotton, be determined according to its frequency in a specific interaction type (ibid: 27). According to the theory, speakers can choose the unmarked code when they “wish to establish or affirm [the prevailing] rights and obligations set” (the Unmarked Choice Maxim), choose the marked code when they “wish to establish a new rights and obligations set as unmarked for the current exchange” (the Marked Choice Maxim), switch between varieties when the unmarked code is not clear and thus index which RO set the speaker favours (the Exploratory Choice Maxim), choose the code that others prefer when the speaker wishes to express respect (the Deference Maxim), or use “whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation/accommodate the participation of all speakers present” (the Virtuosity Maxim). (ibid: 26)

The markedness model has been criticised by Woolard (2004: 80), who comments on the circularity of the argumentation on which the theory is based: “A linguistic variety is defined as unmarked because it is more frequently chosen, and Myers-Scotton predicts that it will be more frequently chosen by speakers because it is unmarked”. Woolard argues that rather than markedness, the model addresses indexicality, and that Myers-Scotton treats linguistic varieties as socially indexical.⁴⁴ She proceeds to re-evaluate code-switching as a display of speakers’ ideological interpretations of its social and political values, and argues that these cannot be positioned objectively, like Myers-Scotton attempts. Instead, Woolard suggests that there may be “greater ambiguity and indeterminacy, less strategy, and perhaps even less meaning and less skill in some forms of codeswitching than have so often been attributed” (2004: 82). Considering ELF couples’ translanguaging habits, I could not agree more with her statement.

Auer (1998) also criticises Myers-Scotton’s theory on the basis that her conclusions are based on general knowledge of the language situation in the society where her data is drawn from, and not on interactional analysis based on the participants’ actions. He shows that an extract which Myers-Scotton interprets as a worker using marked code choices in refusing to help a farmer in

⁴⁴ Similarly to those ELF studies where code-switching is interpreted as signalling national culture, see Article I.

rural Kenya, is actually a rather clear case of language negotiation and reiteration for emphasis when viewed through the lens of CA. Auer argues that the sequential approach of conversation analysis provides much firmer grounds for a valid interpretation of code alternation that can be then used in identifying wider structures in ethnographically oriented research, rather than the other way around. In line with his argument, I struggle to see what kind of a Rights and Obligations model could be operating behind lingua franca speakers' interactions that should be recognised on the society level. Although the family context is perhaps a societal context where members can foresee the expectations of other members more easily than in, say academic contexts, it is unlikely that ELF couples attach indexing qualities of higher or lower prestige to each other's L1s, but that the (initial) incentive to switch to a language is rather tied to the interactionally purposeful expectation of whether the partner is likely to understand it. The finding that those couples who share more languages switch more frequently (Article I: 12) also supports this assumption (see also Hynninen et al. 2017).

Furthermore, in lingua franca interactions, rather than considering "varieties", i.e., languages as marked or less expected, speakers seem to control which *types of items* are predictably understood by the interlocutor. Short words such as response tokens or backchannels (e.g., *joo; já; nei*), question words (e.g., *mikä; mitä; wade*) are often easy to remember and/or phonetically similar in different languages, which makes them less problematic in terms of understanding. Short phrases such as the ritual code-switching of thanking, toasting and congratulating in Kalocsai (2013) or the kinds of assessments uttered by Carmen (e.g., *muy rico; no me gusta*) in the couples' data are also routinised gambit-like expressions and likely the kinds of code-switching ELF couples start out with, and that with repetition become habituated (Rankin et al. 2009).

6.3.1 Recency as a factor

Recency also seems to be a factor that prompts further use of an item, as indicated by extracts 7 and 8 studied in Article II:

01 K: think this eh on- is sugar is in the cake is in the
02 cookies

03 C: u-uh?
 04 (0.7)
 05 C: [ba-]
 06 K: [on the:] (.) on the flo:r ((flour)) m- (0.3) s- was
 07 in the flo:r ((flour))
 08 (0.9)
 09 C: uh?
 10 K: the-uh fff ((sigh)) (0.7) this
 11 (0.8)
 12 C: *melis*. uh- ↑ huh
icing sugar (Nor)

Here, Kjetil is struggling to find a word for “icing sugar” and resorts to indicating to it by using a demonstrative “this”. In line 12, Carmen names the object using Kjetil’s L1 Norwegian, indicating that Kjetil could have simply used the Norwegian word *melis*. About a quarter of an hour later the couple are contemplating on decorating a cake when Kjetil suggests sprinkling it with icing sugar:

01 K: we-p(.) a:h (.) [l] was feeling like
 02 C: [a-]
 03 K: say like (.) like *me* ↑ *lis* (.) like °shh°
icing sugar (Nor)
 04 C: we ↑ could put a litt ↑ le ↓ bit

Although he uses many hedging and flagging devices before uttering the word *melis*, which implies that he still does not expect Carmen to remember it, the fact that Kjetil is indeed using the code-switched item now indicates that its recent use by Carmen makes the item more easily retrievable and thus likely more understandable as well.

Whether any feature becomes a regularly translanguaged part of the couple’s private code is difficult to judge from data collected over such a short time (approximately one week), but if we compare the noun *melis* to the noun *laituri* (“jetty”) automatically switched by Jan in Article I, both may have been introduced in the couple’s conversations in the language of the matrix community because they may be more easily available in that language than in English, because they are the kind of terminology that is not commonly taught to ESL learners.⁴⁵ For future research design, it would be interesting to gather data from a longer period of time to be able to trace the development of individual

⁴⁵ Even I didn’t know the English word for *laituri* before looking it up – these couples are just as unlikely to grab a dictionary when an item is needed for immediate communicative purposes.

translanguaged items into automatically switched, unproblematic components of the couple tongue.

6.4 Multilingual practices and language identity in ELF couples

The kind of development of the couple tongue that I have addressed above is also detectible in the ways in which ELF couples describe their linguistic practices in Article III. Although ELF couples generally report having chosen English out of necessity, through the years of being together it has become “their language”. They are aware that English is not the only language used in the household, and other languages are mixed in for learning purposes, for fun, and when understanding is at stake. “Their language” hence involves translanguaging and is not confined by the traditional boundaries of “a single language” such as “English”. Notably, the mixing practices that ELF couples deploy are something that only they understand; as reported in Article III, outsiders will often not understand the “couple talk”. For ELF couples, though, these translanguaging practices are so regular that they sometimes go unnoticed – like for the Finnish-Icelandic couple Kirsi and Loftur, who were surprised to hear that they had switched so often in their interview (Article I: 19). This indeed supports Auer’s (1998) theory on interactional bleaching of code-switching over time in ELF couple context (see Article III). Furthermore, the kind of loosening control on language mixing suggested in García and Li Wei’s (2014) translanguaging theory is undoubtedly occurring in these long-term social ELF contexts.

6.5 Contextual factors influencing understanding

When it comes to misunderstandings in ELF couples’ interactions, the intimate context and long experience the couples share seem to influence both the frequency of misunderstandings as well as the variety of practices the couples utilise to achieve understanding. When the frequency of ELF couples’ misunderstandings is compared to misunderstandings in students’ interactions (Kaur 2011b) and to those in academic contexts (Mauranen 2006), it can be concluded that ELF-speaking students who, presumably, are less familiar with each other, misunderstand each other slightly more often than ELF couples (see Table 4, next page). However, ELF speakers in academic contexts seem to

misunderstand slightly less frequently than ELF couples, which is surprising if we assume familiar people to understand each other more easily.

Table 4: The frequency of misunderstandings in ELF data

Study	Data	MUs	MU/h	Notes
Pietikäinen (2016)	24.25h couple talk	46	1.9	Speakers in intimate long-term relationships. Covert MUs recognised in conversational misalignment also accounted for.
Mauranen (2006)	5h academic talk	6	1.2	Only overt MUs included.
Kaur (2011b)	15h students' talk	33	2.2	Only overt MUs included.

Furthermore, considering the abundance of pre-emptive measures that ELF couples use, it is interesting that they still misunderstand more frequently than speakers in academic contexts. The pre-emptive measures identified in Article II include:

- direct clarification questions (e.g., “what?”; “who?”; “which one?”) and minimal incomprehension tokens (e.g., “hm?”; “huh?”; “aah?”)⁴⁶
- echoing; repeating the trouble source (e.g., “it’s the one you bought the first time” – “First time?”)
- mitigated paraphrasing (e.g., “you mean X?”)
- self-repair; clarifying, repeating, or paraphrasing until the partner confirms understanding
- code-switching; inserting clarifying words from the languages available to the couple
- extralinguistic means; non- or borderline linguistic, multimodal expressions, e.g., pointing, showing, drawing, acting, deixis, and onomatopoeia
- discourse reflexivity; verbal milestones (e.g., “I mean”; “I’m trying to say”; “let’s put it like this”)

⁴⁶ In CA terms, this category illustrates the “open” class Next Turn Repair Initiators (NTRIs), those that do not locate or specify the trouble source in the interlocutor’s previous turn (see Drew 1997), whereas the two categories that follow exemplify the “partial repeat of the trouble-source turn” and “*Y’mean* plus a possible understanding of prior turn” types respectively (Schegloff et al. 1977: 368)

- confirmation checks (e.g., “really?”; “you know what I mean?”; “he?”; “eh?”; and repeating of a topical item)

Despite all these pre-emptive measures, of which some were previously unknown to ELF research, the fact that ELF couples seem to misunderstand slightly more often than speakers in academic contexts is likely due to the differences of the contexts in which these interactions occur. In academic ELF, those speakers who are actively participating in these multi-party interactions, invest substantial effort to ensuring mutual understanding, but less active participants may avoid voicing problems of understanding altogether: “if some participants do not follow everything, they may remain silent and leave the active participation to others” (Mauranen 2006: 147). In these academic contexts then, the let-it-pass phenomenon (originally identified by Firth (1996) in institutional phone calls) can be expected to occur more frequently than in intimate social contexts, even though Mauranen reports not to have identified the practice in her data. In ELF couple’s contexts, on the other hand, achieving mutual understanding in the couple discourse is much more important for the continuation of the coexistence of the partners without major hitches. This is also evident in the way in which the couples utilise direct clarification questions without orienting towards them as ill-mannered or interruptive, and in the way they employ extra-linguistic means without deeming them childish or otherwise inappropriate.

6.6 inferences of noticeable silences in conflict interactions

Now I turn to another matter where the couples’ long experience of communicating together may be an influential factor; namely interpreting the inferences of silences in disputes. Intimate conflicts are rarely researched because natural data is seldom available from such interactions, and ELF research has generally not examined direct confrontations (except Knapp 2011 and Extrakt 1 in Klötzl 2014). Article IV scrutinises fifteen conflict sequences from the natural conversation data collected in the second phase, to examine what interactional inferences noticeable silences (i.e., withholdings of a response in transition relevance places) have in ELF couples’ disputes. This topic is particularly interesting because researchers have typically attached cultural

significance to silence (see e.g., contributions in Tannen and Saville-Troike 1985), whereas in ELF couples' interactions, although the partners can have very different cultural backgrounds, they are simultaneously members and co-creators of their intimate relationship culture. The analysis finds that the speakers orient to noticeable silences as marking 1) avoidance of uttering such preferred responses to first pair-parts that would disrepute or self-incriminate the speaker; 2) resistance of a change of footing that has been initiated by the insertion of a "laughable" such as a joke; 3) sustained disagreement; 4) offence-taking; or 5) unsuccessful persuasion. Interestingly, the non-silent partners generally orient to the noticeable silences as repairables, and can subsequently urge or provoke the silent partner to produce a response to the original first pair-part if it is in the interest of the first speaker to continue the interaction, or drop the topic entirely if it is not. Persistent silence in sustained disagreements is broken by the first speaker changing his/her stance and hence altering the inferences of the silence, whereas martyr-like self-sacrifice seems inefficient for this purpose. A silence in the post-adjacency pair position that was oriented to as offence-taking, was commonly followed by the second speaker either extending his previous response or mitigating his previous turn in other ways, whereas silence after reasoning was commonly treated with the first speaker offering new evidence or reasoning, giving examples, or offering options or summaries.

What the analysis in Article IV indicates is that transition relevance place-silences have general trouble-indicating qualities (as in Pomerantz 1984) but the range of these troubles extends far beyond mere disagreements. Furthermore, what this analysis also shows is that using ELF data is no hindrance for a classical CA-style study, and that noticeable silences were utilised by the speakers for interactionally relevant purposes rather than because of production difficulties (cf. Meierkord 1998). The couples seem to have no trouble in expressing their stances despite using a lingua franca, and the "troubles" indicated by remarkable silences were not on the linguistic level but rather, on the interpersonal level. Also, cultural differences were not generally made relevant in these interactions, which can imply two things: that silences have less intercultural relevance than commonly expected, and/or that ELF couples should be considered "intimate partners interacting" first, and "intercultural" second.

For this reason, I propose that natural lingua franca talk should be viewed as valid data for examining intersubjectivity in interaction, and included in the mainstream of CA research. I will next discuss this issue a bit further.

6.7 CA's unidirectional relationship with lingua franca research

Despite the growing number of ELF researchers practicing CA (see Section 4.3), ELF research is practically ignored by the mainstream of CA. I have personally experienced difficulty in getting accepted to present ELF data in CA-related conferences and data sessions, and it seems that even encyclopaedic literature of CA largely neglects lingua franca research. For example, *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (Sidnell and Stivers 2013) which claims to offer “a comprehensive picture of what scholars hope to, and have already achieved, when approaching social interaction from a conversation analytic perspective” (ibid: flap blurb) does not mention lingua franca research **at all**. The situation for ELF is not much better in a review article on *Conversation Analysis in Applied Linguistics* (Kasper and Wagner 2014), which, despite offering a wide-ranging and fascinating overview of both basic and applied CA research overarching various themes in applied linguistics and beyond, only mentions Firth's (2009) study as analysing lingua franca talk. Even the sections focusing on cross-cultural and cross-linguistic directions address mostly comparative studies (such as Fox et al. 2009, Stivers et al. 2009) and leave out lingua franca research. As a merit to the article, however, the authors applaud the recent developments toward accrediting multilingual data which applied linguistics has brought into CA, and propose moving multilingual CA into the mainstream of CA (2014: 191–200).

One of the possible reasons for which mainstream CA has turned a blind eye to lingua franca research, is likely the fact that ELF researchers themselves have been reluctant to comment on, and to develop CA as a methodology, and as a theory. As mentioned in 4.3, both review articles on CA and (E)LF; Firth (2012) and Kaur (2016) provide abundant evidence for why CA is a reliable, useful and important methodology for ELF, but not what significance ELF research offers to CA. As a contrast to this, a refreshing opener for interdisciplinary discourse between ELF and CA is a recent article published in the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*. In her (2015) study, Anita Santner-Wolfartsberger uses ELF data

to systematically dispute one of the most prominent theories in CA: the “one speaker speaks at a time” principle (Sacks et al. 1974). She argues that the principle is challenged when the interaction comprises a greater number of participants, and that the notion of “party” requires further conceptualisation, as it is evident that whether speakers are members of the same “party” or not influences their turn-taking practices. Although the data the author uses in her analysis is rather limited, the paper is a welcome conversation opener for ELF researchers to consider their data from the wider perspective of “CA proper”.

Article IV is another attempt to create convergence between ELF and CA. It aims to contribute to CA’s theory on turn-construction organisation and particularly to the ways in which CA can be used in examining not only talk but also silence-in-interaction. In this article, I argue that the next-turn micro-analysis of CA is well-suited for the study of noticeable silences, but I also show that ELF data is compatible with the traditional style of conversation analysis. Proficiency of the speakers or their (national) cultural differences do not seem to influence the structural organisation of their interactions, which makes ELF data relevant for not only applied CA inquiry, but also for basic CA analysis. In line with Schegloff himself (Wong and Olsher 2000), as these couples rarely orient to the non-nativeness of their talk, as they are most often “doing being husbands and wives” with the exception from NSE couples that they translanguage and use English which we know not to be their native language; hence we should not explain their interactions merely through their “nonnativeness” or “ELFism” by, e.g., comparing their interactions to monolingual couples’ interactions to see what they do differently. Instead, we can investigate their interactions *and* monolingual couple interactions in order to arrive at a fuller understanding concerning questions about interaction in intimate relationships. Similarly, investigating ELF couples’ interactions and adding the findings to existing knowledge on, say ELF pragmatics, can generate a more accurate picture of ELF pragmatics across different contexts, but these findings are not limited to the group from which the data is gathered: ELF pragmatics is also pragmatics proper, and ELF interactions are also interpersonal interactions.

What I would like to propose, then, is in line with the suggestion made in Kasper and Wagner (2014) for moving multilingual CA in to the mainstream of

CA. I would like to see CA of ELF interactions moving into the mainstream of CA, or at least be acknowledged as a strand within CA. In fact, with its multilingual, cross-cultural nature, lingua franca research has the potential of bringing out a similar turn in CA as experienced earlier with the inclusion of other languages in CA. For example, lingua franca research has specific potential in line with the emerging direction of large-scale cross-linguistic comparisons that seek to uncover interactional universals (e.g., Fox et al. 2009 and Stivers et al. 2009 mentioned earlier). Studies like these require extensive data collection and analyses over different languages worldwide, whereas lingua franca interactions are by definition variable in terms of the speakers' linguistic and cultural backgrounds, proficiency levels, and accommodative behaviour (Kaur 2016). Therefore, the systematic inquiry of structural organisation in lingua franca interactions would substantially increase our knowledge of the universal inclinations of how speakers organise talk – as a valuable addition to the existing line of research.

7 Conclusions

This dissertation has attempted to offer a multifaceted overview of English as a lingua franca in close intercultural relationships concerning the pragmatics of (mis)understanding as well as of noticeable silences in conflict talk, multilingual practices, and language identity. I have also discussed the importance of these findings on the conceptualisation of ELF and multilingualism, and the potential for further cross-fertilisation between CA and LF research. I have shown that there are contextual differences within ELF usage that influence the pragmatics strategies that ELF speakers develop; for example, the recourse to translanguaging and pre-emptive practices depends on the (anticipated) range of shared resources between the speakers and the length and intimacy of their interpersonal relationship. I have also shown that ELF usage is natural language use in its own right, or should I rather say, natural languaging, where resources from different social environments are drawn upon when necessary. Each couple tongue, or couple ELF, is a language of interpersonal communication developed and used in the privacy of the home, and it is therefore not a surprise that the speakers identify to this language as “their language”, even if it largely looks like what we generally call English, or ELF. I will now conclude the main findings of the papers presented in this dissertation, consider their limitations, and suggest directions for further research.

7.1 ELF couples’ multilingual practices

Article I studied ELF couples’ *automatic code-switching*, translanguaging within the speakers’ shared linguistic range which passes without either of the participants flagging the switch with prosodic or interactional devices, and which can be considered a part of the *couple tongue* that ELF couples seem to develop over time. Article III discussed the notion of automatic code-switching in the light of translanguaging (García 2009, García and Li Wei 2014) and Auer’s (1998) theory on interactional bleaching of code alternation within the transformation process from code-switching to a mixed code. In the discussion

section 6.1, I revisited the interactional incentives for translanguaging in ELF couples' interactions that were first identified in Pietikäinen (2012), and then demonstrated their prevalence in the data collected in the second phase. I then compared the comparatively scarcer flagging phenomena in ELF couple context to the range of flagging phenomena in academic ELF contexts (in 6.2), and addressed some contextual differences of translanguaging in ELF. In 6.3 I discussed automatic code-switching from the point-of-view of whether it is unintentional or not, and compared it to Myers-Scotton's Markedness model (1998), which I concluded to be inadequate for ELF contexts. Whether or not translanguaging is considered acceptable in ELF is not so much dependent on how prestigious a language is considered to be but how comprehensible the speakers render it, and also, this evaluation occurs on the lexical level, not concerning entire language systems.

It seems that ELF couples utilise frequent translanguaging for several interactional purposes (see Table 3, p. 144). Over time, repeatedly translanguaged features become habituated, i.e., the code alternation itself diminishes in interactional value. Typically, short words such as response tokens, question words, place names and single nouns become automatically translanguaged features of the couples' shared code. In this respect, ELF couple tongues (because each couple ultimately develops their own practices) are multilingual, but they are also constantly under development, like natural languages always are. It also seems that ELF couples succeed in effective and affective communication by adapting their couple code to their interactional needs. They weave suitable pieces from other frames of talk into the patchwork of their shared language, where, when in recurrent use, the patches merge seamlessly into the tapestry of their private code.

7.2 The extent and causes of misunderstandings and pre-empting problems of understanding in ELF couple interactions

Article II examined the extent and causes of misunderstandings in ELF couple talk (data set 2) and concluded that ELF spouses do not struggle with many misunderstandings and that generally, the frequency of misunderstanding is in line with previous findings in ELF (Mauranen 2006, Kaur 2011b), but that

contextual factors seem to influence the extent of misunderstandings in ELF talk. In close family interactions, speakers seem to expect to understand each other on the premises of the amount of knowledge that they already share. For this reason, it seems, they sometimes stumble upon what Mustajoki (2012) refers to as the common ground fallacy. The misunderstandings ELF couples face are not, however, very grave in nature; they often derive from vagueness in the first turn or confusion over to what, which, or whom the partner is referring, and are commonly repaired in the third turn.

Moreover, the couples pre-empt problems of understanding by readily communicating insufficient understanding with direct clarification questions and minimal incomprehension tokens, echoing the trouble source in the immediately following turn, and producing mitigated paraphrases to confirm their understanding. The partners also actively self-repair until a satisfactory confirmation of understanding is achieved, and utilise their multilingual repertoire in explaining their meaning. Discourse reflexivity (metadiscourse) helps the hearer to focus on relevant sections in the speaker's talk, and confirmation checks and repetition of important items assist the hearer to consider the validity and importance of new information. In addition, ELF couples use extra-linguistic means that have not been previously identified in ELF research, but which are hardly unique to these couples: In elucidation sequences, they apply multimodal devices (such as showing/pointing, drawing, mimicking, etc.) together with borderline linguistic devices such as deictic expressions and onomatopoeia.

The article concludes that these pre-emptive measures have likely been developed through the shared experiences of the partners. During the years of living together, the partners have adopted meaning-making practices where creative resources are commonly drawn on, and where achieving accurate understanding overrides such considerations of appropriateness that drive, for example, the let-it-pass principle. ELF couples hence manage to communicate successfully (i.e., achieve intersubjectivity) by adopting versatile meaning-making practices and a manner of agility in deploying them.

7.3 Language identities, multilingualism and interculturality in ELF couples

Article III examined the ways in which ELF couples view their linguacultural couple identity and practices, as disclosed in their interviews. All multilingual speakers have their life trajectories and social contexts to which different languages are intertwined. The ELF couple identity is not a sum of the partners' individual (ELF) identities – the interplay of these is negotiated and shaped by their experiences in different contexts, and over time. In this shaping process, the languages the couple use, including but not only English, become meaningful as the core on which the shared practice is built. For this reason, changing the matrix language of the relationship would be arduous, although the couples had all contemplated this option, especially in the face of radical changes in their lives (e.g., when having a baby or moving to another country). The partners in ELF couples often identify as bi-/multilingual and/or international even before their relationship, and multilingualism is present in their everyday lives in their language practices within the family and in the surrounding community. These practices are not experienced as problematic inside the family; the couples' linguistic choices were only considered challenging – and challenged by outsiders – in the junctions of social circles, for example in social gatherings where one partner had to adopt the role of a translator, or where others struggled to understand “their English”. In a way, the couple tongue of ELF couples can be described as a *multilingua franca* (see Jenkins 2015 and Chapter 2.3 above) between the partners, but their languaging practices are so exclusive that the code that they use together cannot as such be used with other ELF speakers without this resulting in (at least some) problems of understanding.

The partners in ELF couples are intercultural in the sense that they come from differing backgrounds, but they can involve each other in their individual experiences by comparing them and hence strengthen their intimate bond. Developing their own traditions, negotiating values and practices, and sharing experiences enforces their own *couple culture*. The couples I interviewed seemed to tackle their “interculturality” in three different ways: they either acknowledged individual cultural differences but attached these to other traits than national cultures (such as to gender, personality); they declared their cultural differences unnoticeable in the family context because of their

similarities and shared values; or they reported substantial cultural differences but emphasised mutual malleability in their relationship, which helped them overcome culture-derived differences and to sustain the relationship.

7.4 Noticeable silences utilised as flags in ELF couples' conflict interactions

Article IV investigated noticeable silences in ELF couples' conflict discourse, i.e., silences at the transition relevant place where the first (the non-silent) speaker orients to the silence (or withholding of a turn) of his/her spouse in the next turn. Silence after first pair-parts (FPPs) of adjacency pairs often indicated that the preferred second pair-part was not such that the silent party could utter without admitting to blame or other unfavourable inferences. These are in line with earlier findings by Sacks (1987) and Pomerantz (1984), but contrary to these, the non-silent party commonly then provoked the silent party to answer the FPP without mitigating or changing its original inferences, or dropped the topic entirely. This is an example of uncooperative behaviour that was not, however, typically displayed outside the conflict sequences.

Silence was also used as a strategy for flagging "inappropriate" FPPs such as laughable-initiated change of footing within "serious" sequences. Another marked application of the second pair-part position silence was sustained silence which was oriented to by the partner as implying sustained disagreement. This type of silence was broken by the first speaker by changing his/her stance so that the inferences of the silence were altered. A milder version of sustained disagreement, unsuccessful persuasion, was commonly countered by the first speaker by adding further evidence, giving examples, offering reasoning/options, describing tentative situations or summarising. After adjacency pairs, minimal post-expansion seemed to be expected rather than just possible (cf. Schegloff 2007), and silence in this position was commonly treated with a mitigation of the previous turn, which suggests that such a silence was oriented to as indicating that the silent party was possibly offended.

Overall, ELF couples utilise silences for discourse-relevant reasons that extend beyond disagreements. Remarkable silences are generally repairable by the non-silent party either toward escalating the conflict or soothing the dispute, or if the non-silent party misinterprets the silence (such as in extract (7) in

Article IV), the silent party can (or is compelled to, as in the aforementioned extract) break his silence and repair the intended inference of the silence. The noticeable silences analysed in Article IV were not found to indicate difficulties in language production or have particular cultural significance – instead, they were utilised as situationally sensitive turns with high inferencing qualities. In other words, ELF couples employed transition relevance place silences in flagging negative connotations in the previous turn. As discussed in Sections 6.6 and 6.7, these findings imply that private lingua franca interactions can be examined as natural interactions in their own right, and in this case, they broadened our knowledge on the situational inferences of withholding a turn in couples' conflicts.

7.5 Limitations of generalisability

Although the couples studied here were more heterogeneous than in other ELF couple studies (cf. Gundacker 2010, Klötzl 2014, 2015, Beraud 2016, Soler and Zabrodskaia 2017), my data set is still limited in size and its couple constellations. No couples living outside of Europe (except couple G living first in Zambia, then Finland) were included, and Finnish women were overrepresented in the couples who volunteered. No homosexual couples were included because those who signed up were found to use another lingua franca than English. These restrictions are, however, minor compared to the novelty of the data – particularly the natural LF conflict interactions examined in Article IV are very seldom seen, and I am deeply indebted to the couples for trusting me with such sensitive data. Furthermore, a very diverse subject base in ELF studies can work against the researcher in ways addressed in Section 4.3. If the researcher is not familiar with the languages in the speakers' repertoires and the cultural characteristics of the environments in which their realities are enacted, the analysis may end up lacking in depth – even in conversation analytic inquiry. I acknowledge that my non-existent command of, for example, Mandarin and Nyanja limited my analysis of the translanguaging that the L1 speakers of these languages produced, whereas my analysis on those couples whom I personally knew or whose languages and cultural backgrounds were more familiar to me were better represented in the studies.

Another issue with generalising the findings is that each couple seems to develop their own meaning-making strategies and linguistic practices – and these vary even between the partners of the same couple. Not every ELF couple uses all the practices mentioned in the research articles, and if the subjects were any different, the results would likely differ. What is noticeable here is, however, that most of the couples I studied had been together for four years or longer, whereas Gundacker only focussed on “young couples, aged 23 to 33” (2010: 53), and the relationships in Klötzl (2015) had only lasted from 1 year 3 months to 4 years. It is hence more likely that the practices of the couples I studied are of the kind that are developed over time and in shared experiences. Yet, how exactly ELF couples’ pragmatics develop over time remains unclear in the absence of longitudinal data where actual change could be observed. Despite this, it is observable in all ELF couples studied that the couples experienced the language they spoke with each other to be *theirs*, a code which they shape for their own communicative purposes and which they recognise as their principle language of interaction as well as a language of identification.

7.6 Implications for further research

As mentioned earlier, although it seems that ELF couples’ linguistic practices are developed over time through shared experiences, in the absence of longitudinal data, this can only be considered a hypothesis which would require more data from a longer period of time to be confirmed. Even some interactional data from the same couples collected a few years later would provide new information on whether their translanguaging practices become more like a mixed code and whether the couples gradually shift toward using either partner’s L1 or the community language. Another very interesting, entirely new topic would be to examine ELF couples’ linguistic practices as a family: do the parents continue with the OPOL strategy (Döpke 1992), do their children learn to understand the parents’ English or even to speak it by mere immersion in the home? What are the multilingual environments in which these children grow up? Mauranen (2017: 20) hypothesises that in the near future, there will be “a growing number of people whose first language is ELF – or English – learned from parents who have ELF as their couple language”. I consider it a more likely outcome that most

ELF parents follow OPOL or mix languages in the home, like the couples interviewed in Soler and Zabrodska (2017). Some of the recordings in my data also feature parents' discussions with children, and indeed, these children rarely address their parents in English, even though there are indications that they at least learn to understand the parents' shared language to an extent. Either way, studies on ELF families' natural interactions would constitute a novel topic for sociolinguistic inquiry and likely shed new light on the development of multilingual repertoires, multilingual practices in families as well as for further conceptualisations of ELF.

Another interesting vein of research would be quantitative. As the survey presented in Section 2.7 indicated, the actual number of lingua franca couples may be much higher than commonly anticipated. Whether these couples change their predominant private language of communication over the years may also turn out to be less likely than generally thought, as even those couples in my data who had learned to speak each other's L1s had not deserted ELF as their main language of private communication. Piller's (2002) theory on the connection between language and the performance of identity may thus turn out to be as relevant for ELF couples as it seems to be for bilingual couples (couples who use either/both partners' L1(s) in their communication). It would also be interesting to explore what the influence of the surrounding community/communities is to the choice of the matrix language in intercultural love relationships and on their translanguaging. Although those three couples in Article I who code-switched least during their interviews all lived in the UK, the reason for the lack of languaging in their interviews may not so much be the country of residence but the lack of a shared L1 with the interviewer, in contrast to the wives in the remaining three couples who translanguaged more. The conversational data (data set 2) only had one couple (Elisa and Budi) from the UK⁴⁷, but this couple indeed switched least often. In Article I, I contemplated the possible connection between the number of fluent languages the couples share and the frequency of code-switching and suggested that there may be a greater tendency to switch to the matrix language(s) of the society in which the couples reside than to a language of origin. I did not do further analysis on the conversational data to

⁴⁷ All other couples resided in either partner's home country.

corroborate or dispute this hypothesis, but it would indeed be an interesting topic for further study.

Lastly, I would like to encourage LF researchers who use CA as their methodology to join forces in broadening CA's perspective to include LF data amongst the natural discourse phenomena worthy of classic CA enquiry – not only as “second language” data. The first step could be to examine whether those phenomena that have been corroborated as universals across different languages (e.g., avoidance of overlapping and minimisation of silence between turns, Stivers et al. 2009) and those that the CA theory posits as fundamental structures of conversation (e.g., the illocutionary force of a first pair-part, Schegloff and Sacks 1973) hold up in intercultural lingua franca conversations as well – as they should if they are truly universal. Efforts for enabling large-scale LF-CA research are already underway,⁴⁸ but an equally important effort is to ensure that all trajectories of life are included in these studies – as we now know that the ELFs that people use in different social contexts and in different time scales vary to a great extent.

⁴⁸ E.g., the forthcoming Corpus of Academic Spoken English of Saarland University (CASE forthcoming) is being transcribed following CA's conventions.

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Transcription key

(.)	short pause (less than 0.2 seconds)
(0.8)	timed pause in seconds
.hhh	inhalation
hhh	exhalation
wo:rd	elongation of syllable
word-	word cut off abruptly
>word<	section spoken faster
<word>	section spoken slower
<word	hurried start, typically at the beginning of a TCU
[word]	overlapping
£word£	section spoken with a smile voice
w(h)ord	section spoken laughingly or airily
°word°	section spoken silently
#word#	section spoken with a creaky voice
word	word stress/emphasis
CAPS	section spoken louder
=	latching (turn starting without a pause)
()	syllables not recovered
(word)	tentative transcription
?	rising intonation indicating a question
.	falling intonation indicating sentence end
,	intonation indicating continuation
↑	rising intonation
↓	declining intonation
h.h.h. or heheh	laughter (transcribed as pronounced)
(comment) or	
((comment))	author's comment
<i>mucho</i>	code-switch
<i>a lot (Spa)</i>	gloss of code-switch (abbreviated language of the switch)

Appendix I: Consent form for data collection phase 1



Consent Form
Interviews and Recordings
English as a Lingua Franca Couples

**School of Education,
Communication and Language
Sciences**

King George VI Building
Queen Victoria Road
Newcastle upon Tyne
NE1 7RU
United Kingdom

I confirm that (please tick as appropriate):

1.	I have been informed about the purpose of this study and I have understood the information given to me.	
2.	I voluntarily agree to participate in this project.	
3.	I understand that all responses and recordings will be treated in the strictest confidence and any personal details which would reveal my identity will not be published.	
4.	I understand that the results of this study will be used as a part of a Masters thesis at Newcastle University as well as for any subsequent publications in academic journals and presentations at academic conferences.	
5.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the total confidentiality of the data.	
6.	I, along with the researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	

Participant:

Name of Participant Signature Date

Researcher:

Name of Researcher Signature Date

Appendix II: Recruitment announcement for data collection phase 2

Are you in a multicultural relationship?

I am looking for international couples to participate in a research study examining multicultural communication at home. You are welcome to take part in this study, if you:

- 1) live together with your partner
- 2) speak mainly English with your partner
- 3) are both non-native speakers of English.

The research material will be collected in your own home, where you will make short voice recordings according to instructions during one week in February/May 2013. All material collected will be fully confidential and anonymised.

If you and your spouse are interested in taking part in the study, please send me an email with the following background information. Answer these six questions concerning both you and your partner:

1. What is your sex and age?
2. Which country are you from?
3. Where do you live now (city)?
4. What is your first language (mother tongue)?
5. What other languages do you speak and to what extent?
6. How long have you been together?

I will contact you as soon as possible to settle a time for the recordings. If you have any questions concerning the study, please do not hesitate to get in touch.

Best regards,

Kaisa Pietikäinen, University of Helsinki
kaisa.pietikainen@helsinki.fi

Appendix III: Consent form for data collection phase 2

Consent Form



Multicultural Couples' Communication / Recordings

This research project aims to study multicultural communication in homes where spouses originate in different cultures and linguistic backgrounds. The data recorded by these couples will be analysed and transcribed by the researcher. All names and other identifying information will be fully anonymised. Short transcriptions of recordings may be used in scientific publications, and short audio clips may be played in seminars or conferences.

I hereby give my consent to use my recordings as described above.

Date:

Name:

Name:

Researcher:

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Appendix IV: Recording instructions for data collection phase 2

Recording instructions – please read carefully!

Finding the right place

- Place the recorder somewhere in the house where you normally spend time with your spouse. For example, over the dinner table, if you have regular meals together, or in the car, if you travel together daily (in this case, please do not leave the recorder in the car).
- The best place is slightly above head-level, microphone facing towards you, preferably no more than 1,5 meters from where you are sitting.
- You can also place the recorder on a surface close by (e.g. on the window sill), but not on the table, as the clatter of tableware and all kinds of thumps may drown your voices and make the recordings impossible to use.
- Make sure that you keep your cell phone well away from the recorder, as it interferes with the microphone and will cause noise that covers your voice.
- If you are used to having the TV or radio on, make sure that they are not close by and that the microphone is not pointing towards them. If possible, turn them off completely.

When to record?

- Try to make recording a routine. For example, if you have chosen to record by the dinner table, put the recorder on when you start to cook, and turn it off when you clear the table.
- In case you have children, it is perfectly OK if they are present in the recording situations. In case other people are present, you can record with their consent. When you return the recorder, please let me know if there were other people present in your recordings.
- The aim is to record natural situations. If you or your spouse are feeling uneasy about the recorder, you can agree that one of you turns the recorder on without the other one knowing. As it becomes a routine, it gets easier.
- Silence is natural. There may be long stretches of silence, but you don't have to fill them up or cut them away. There is space for over 100 hours in the recorder, so don't worry!

How?

- Slide the power switch to turn the recorder on. Press REC to record. Make sure the timer starts running.
- To stop recording, simply press STOP. The recorder will change track automatically, so if you want to continue recording, just press REC again.
- Remember to turn off power by sliding the power switch down for two seconds. If you take the recorder with you, slide the switch to HOLD. This locks the buttons.
- DO NOT CHANGE SETTINGS OR DELETE ANY FILES!!!

Thank you!